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LOOKING BACK ON 1960

By Mladen IVEKOVIĆ

LAST year's international political balance sheet was characterized by reverses incomparable with any others in the whole postwar period.

Inaugurated under the favourable auspices of the relaxation of international tension and the cold war between East and West, especially after more frequent contacts at the highest level between Moscow, London, Washington and Paris and after Camp David, the year 1960, after the famous U-2 flight over Soviet territory, experienced an unexpected reverse in the collapse of the Paris Summit conference, a reverse which threw the relations between the two opposed military and political alliances into deepened and aggravated mutual mistrust. The atmosphere of negotiation and growing confidence between the big powers, the result of so many efforts, was destroyed. There was world-wide anxiety and feverish haste to find new ways out of the enchanted circle of increasing misunderstanding between the big powers and there was also increasingly dangerous bloc competition and measuring of forces.

The "spirit of Camp David" which had raised new hopes in the world faded away overnight as if it had never existed.

The failure of the Paris conference, where the big powers parted as bitter enemies, showed many small independent countries that the question of peace or war cannot be left

within the exclusive competence of the big powers, but that the small countries, especially the uncommitted ones, must be engaged too in the solving of crucial international problems and the overcoming of the deepening antagonism between the two blocs. Emphasizing that the big powers, who continue developing their mighty war potential, must bear the main responsibility for the degree of international tension and for the inauguration of a new period of relaxation, the independent and non-aligned countries, and not least among them Yugoslavia, insisted on their right to direct action for overcoming the antagonism between East and West, for general and complete disarmament, for the independence of the colonial and formerly colonial peoples and for equal relations between big and small powers. President Tito's dramatic warning that the big powers have no right to toy with the fate of the world and mankind was heeded throughout the world and met with full understanding especially in the independent African and Asian countries. The logical consequences of this, was the clear proposal put forward by President Tito, immediately after the abortive Paris Conference, that the United Nations Organization should again become the world forum for solving vital international problems including that of the relations between East and West.

As is known, the activity of certain influential circles against the policy of international relaxation and peaceful co-existence was not confined to such moves as the U-2 flight over alien territories. It was also shown in the attitude and actions of such countries as for instance West Germany, which saw in an eventual agreement between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. a danger to its own military and political objectives within the West European Union and within the Atlantic community. Today it is no longer a secret that the Bonn Government and the general staff were from the first opposed to a round table conference between the West and the East and against negotiations with the U. S. S. R. about its proposals for the solution of the problems of Germany and Berlin, of disarmament, an atom-free zone in Europe etc. At the same time the Bonn Government and military Headquarters began to concentrate more and more openly on nuclear armament in which they were and still are strongly supported by American and Atlantic Pact circles. In this respect, after the Paris failure the memorandum of the Bundeswehr on the necessity of introducing universal conscription and atomic armament in West Germany was especially characteristic, a memorandum which came as the logical consequence of Bonn's increasingly open policy for the Bundesrepublik's full military and political affirmation within NATO and against the U. S. S. R. This process of military strengthening and the constantly growing role of West Germany militarily, politically and economically within the Western military and political alliance was never checked, not even at the time when there still seemed to be favourable prospects of an agreement between the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. after the successful meeting between Khrushchev and Eisenhower at Camp David.

At the time of this meeting there were, as we know, threatening situations both in the Far East and in Asia. Objectively speaking, they were a challenge to the Soviet "offensive for peace" and understanding with the West, a challenge to the policy of peaceful co-existence which was reflected in many useful moves by the Soviet Government. Yugoslavia's attitude to these moves is well known and so there is no need to expound it again.

The year 1960 began with favourable auspices for the African continent too. It has won the name: the year of liberation of "Black Africa". A number of former African colonies won their battle for independence. The one-time leaders of the classic imperialistic and colonial policy did their utmost in the course of last year, with more or less success, to adapt themselves to the "African elemental forces" in trying to maintain the relations of the former metropolises with the countries becoming independent states. Some other metropolises — as is shown by case of the Congo and Algeria — were doing everything in their power to keep their colonial privileges by force of arms and by terrorism, and to frustrate the independence of these countries by risking peace in the world and by stirring up antagonism and rivalry between East and West on this territory too. The process of Africa's liberation resulted, however, in the inclusion of quite a number of newly independent countries in the United Nations Organization so that the number of the members at the Fifteenth Session of this world organization reached nearly a hundred. That the former balance of power was greatly changed in the United Nations and that at this session the countries not aligned with blocs, played a more important role than ever before, is a well-known fact.

Still, the process of the irresistible liberation of Africa clashed with the forces of imperialism and colonialism, who showed persistence and recklessness in trying to halt the inevi-

table course of history. The struggle of the Algerian people continues, and becomes increasingly antagonistic to the French Colonial Administration, despite de Gaulle's solemnly claimed principle of the right of the Algerians to self-determination. The colonial war in Algeria and the bloodshed which both the French Fifth Republic and her allies in NATO are responsible, has lasted for seven years now. On the other hand foreign intervention and former colonizers are seen in the death of the independence and freedom of the Republic of Congo which country is at this moment on the verge of civil war...

As we see, the development of the international situation after the collapse of the Paris Conference has left open a number of important international problems on which peace or war depends. In the meantime new problems have arisen, aggravating the situation still more. Relations between the big powers, ranged in mighty military and political camps, have developed new tension. Mistrust and rivalry in various parts of the world have assumed dangerous proportions.

After the bitter disappointment over the abortive summit conference, which was soon followed by foreign intervention in the Republic of Congo, after the ten-nations Committee's unsuccessful talks on disarmament and the equally hopeless negotiations at Geneva about banning nuclear weapons, and in view of the continuation of the colonial wars and terror in Algeria, the *United Nations Organization* appeared to provide the only possible way out of the enchanted circle and the Fifteenth UN Session, it seemed provided the opportunity for resuming personal contacts between top representatives of the opposed camps. The unsettled international problems, including the most important, such as disarmament, aid to underdeveloped countries, the question of the Congo, of Algeria and of colonialism in general and, above all, the question of relations between East and West, returned to the main forum of the world organization, raising new hopes in the hearts of millions of people.

The important problems on the agenda of the Fifteenth UN General Assembly, the poisoned international atmosphere, the inclusion of a number of new African countries in the United Nations Organization, and the imposing number of governments and states who participated at this session, make it one of the most significant in the history of the United Nations. It was all the more important as relations between the big powers had deteriorated during the previous six months to a degree that put the world organization itself to a severe test.

A specially important feature of the Fifteenth UN General Assembly was the presence and the activity of the heads of the uncommitted countries or of those not directly involved in the cold war. These countries presented themselves to the world and within UNO as a *qualitatively new force* with growing capacity, willingness and determination to play a beneficial role in bridging the gap between the hostile blocs and in finding a way out of the dangerous international dead-end alley. As regards Yugoslavia, we are glad to say it was at the Fifteenth General Assembly that the specific task and mission of the force of the uncommitted countries, in which Yugoslavia under her President Tito performed an important role, was accorded its proper place and had to be — recognized by both the West and the East. In the light of this, the seventh meeting between President Nasser and President Tito at Brion June last should be recalled. At this meeting there was a concurrence in the opinion that the responsibility for the preservation of world peace and security rests on all nations of the world and not only on the big powers, and that the uncommitted countries may and ought to play an active

in the creation of a better atmosphere in international relations by opposing policies based on threats or on the use of force. In this respect the initiative taken by Yugoslavia and her activity at the Security Council on the eve of the General Assembly's Session, in favour of the preservation of the independence of the young Congolese Republic, an initiative which met with strong support from the majority of African and Asian countries, should be emphasized. The resolutions voted through at the Security Council and later on at the General Assembly showed the whole world the true importance of this new factor: the independent and uncommitted countries within the United Nations.

The Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly has not realized the expectations of the nations and countries longing for conciliation and peace. Relations between the big powers and blocs remain strained and many issues, including disarmament, the discontinuation of nuclear explosions, the question of Germany and of Berlin etc. are pending and adjourned ad calendas graecas. (Till the Greek calends, that is forever—since the Greeks had no calends.) Moreover, the arena of the United Nations served the representatives of the antagonistic camps once again for sharp duels and accusations so that the verbal disputes and the voting competition reminded us from time to time of the worst days of the cold war. The unselfish action and resolution of Tito, Nasser, Nehru, Nkrumah and Sukarno, the leaders of the independent countries, who expressed hopes that the president of the U. S. A. and the premier of the U. S. S. R. would reestablish personal contacts and negotiate directly about the most important problems, met with discreditable tricks of procedure from the tribune of the General Assembly's president himself. Strong and constructive as the repercussions of this activity were not only in the United Nations but all over the world, for by it the uncommitted countries introduced themselves into the United Nations as a new factor for peace and international agreement, some of the big powers and their followers remained indifferent to this initiative. Waiting for further developments, as for instance the issue of the presidential elections in the U. S. A., building up tension in various trouble-spots, and continuing to strengthen their own military potential, some of the big powers showed no interest at last year's session of the General Assembly in the opening of constructive negotiations on the most important international problems or in the creation of a better international atmosphere. On the other hand, the determined activity of the Afro-Asian and other independent countries, including Yugoslavia, against foreign intervention and war in the Congo and in Algeria, activity which in the last days of December made itself strongly felt again within the United Nations has proved that the peoples cannot reconcile themselves to a situation which endangers world peace and hinders the liberation of oppressed nations. On the eve of the coming into office of the new Democratic Administration in the U. S. A., events in the Congo, in Algeria and in Laos, where NATO and SEATO have been making all efforts to strengthen their positions have disturbed the whole world. In some parts of the world the course of events has confirmed the view that the Republican Administration wishes to hand down its own legacy of solutions to the new administration of the United States which in view of the present situation would commit it for a long time to come.

Not even the United Nations Organization was spared in the cold war which was resumed in the second half of last year. Its authority was seriously shaken, especially after its unsuccessful mission in the Republic of Congo. The activity of the UN organs and military forces in the Congo, the fact

that the resolutions of Security Council and the General Assembly were ignored and not applied, enabled various usurpers and foreign interventionists to force on the Republic of Congo their policy of subjecting the country to foreign domination. This course of events showed the UNO member countries that it was necessary to reorganize this world organization, a problem which was most insistently raised by some countries at the recent General Assembly session.

Thus, on the threshold of the new year 1961, the situation is still burdened with the old, unsettled, crucial problems which have, since the Second World War, determined the strained relations between East and West in general and between the Soviet union and the United States in particular. In addition, there are new problems which aggravate the situation.

Still, at the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly, thanks to the persevering activity of the forces of peace, especially of the group of the non-aligned countries, the demand for definite and general liquidation of colonial relations was placed on the agenda for the first time. Also some constructive steps were taken towards future disarmament talks. By a huge majority of votes the General Assembly voted for the discontinuance of nuclear experiments and adopted a separate resolution on the prevention of the further spreading of nuclear armament. It is also important that the demand of the Provisional Algerian Government for a referendum in Algeria under UNO's supervision obtained support in the United Nations showing once again that the problem is international. The question of the removal of economic backwardness in the world and the corollary question, concerning the setting-up of a special UNO Fund for capital financing through the United Nations, obtained an equally important place at this session.

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But a whole host of international key problems remained unsolved and were not even broached. In matters pertaining to disarmament alone, another 13 resolutions were left to be put to the vote! They will appear again on the agenda at the beginning of March, in the second part of the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly.

Although the year 1960 has not left an atmosphere of better international understanding or a new relaxation of tension as a heritage, yet there are good reasons for us to believe that the continuation of the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly this year may develop in better conditions. In the meantime the new administration headed by Kennedy will come into power in the United States. Although speculation in connection with the course of the new American Administration in international relations is out of place, it is nevertheless unlikely that it will pursue the policy which has impaired the prestige of the United States in recent years.

In the East, notably in the Soviet Union, awareness of the need for the relaxation of international tension and for negotiations about vital international problems, especially about the relations between East and West, has become manifest. The policy of peaceful and active co-existence, the strengthening of peace and the ending of the cold war, a policy according to which, in today's conditions war is not inevitable and the mutual relations between two social and political world systems must be established in a manner to prevent war, has defeated the forces which, in fact, underrated the potential and the power of peace.

Besides, in any estimates of future international trends, the moral and political force of the countries of Africa and Asia which, along with the other non-aligned countries, are entering the history of international relations as a new factor for peace and international agreement, should also be reckoned

with. To ignore this factor, as some both in the West and in the East are trying to do is just as unreasonable as to shut one's eyes to the moral force of millions of people who have given evidence of their struggle for equal mutual relations and honest understanding in the world, not only in the United Nations but whenever and wherever their independence and world peace were at stake.

That in this connection we have full reason for not sharing certain views expressed at the November Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow need not be emphasized anew.

As regards Yugoslavia herself and her independent and consistent policy based on her principles of international relations, this policy was fully confirmed on every occasion last year, particularly in the United Nations where President Tito pledged himself personally in support of the principles of international agreement, peaceful co-existence and the establishment of world peace. These principles were clearly proclaimed once again from the tribune of the world organization and they are verified every day in the practice of the international relations of Yugoslavia. Needless to emphasize that Yugoslavia and her peoples will not be deterred even by such invectives and false "compromise formulae" of "Yugoslav Revisionism" as were put forward in the well-known Declaration of the Conference of the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November and December last year. But this topic has been sufficiently dealt with in our press. If a general judgment should be pronounced here then it takes the form of a statement that the attack on Yugoslavia has done a bad turn to the policy professed by the representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, by calling into question the sincerity of its authors in international relations in general

OUR INQUIRY

The Senegalese Way to Socialism

By Leopold SENGOR

Wishing to acquaint the readers of the "Review of International Affairs" with the problems and aspirations with the newly liberated countries of Africa which were admitted as members of UNO at its Fifteenth General Assembly, the editor of this Review sent several statesmen of these countries a questionnaire regarding their internal and external problems. In this issue we publish the replies given by Leopold Sengor, President of the Republic Senegal.

QUESTION: What are the main internal problems facing your country since the achievement of independence?

ANSWER: Senegal is an old country. It is the first of the former French colonies in Africa to have succeeded in developing its individuality and in training administrative and technical

staff. I must, however, admit that this is solely due to historical geographical and other special conditions.

Senegal was the first French colony in Africa to enter political life after the Restoration. As a matter of fact, Senegal had deputies in the French Parliament between 1848 and 1958. Thanks to this, Senegal obtained secondary schools as early as the second half of the 19th century. Out of a population of three million in Senegal there are today ten thousand pupils in about twenty secondary schools — lyceums and colleges. Senegal has a university, which, in view of the qualifications of its teachers, can be ranked with the French Universities.

For these reasons the national problem itself was solved in 1958 when Senegal obtained autonomy. Today when independence is achieved, the Senegalese nation is already esta-

blished. For what is a nation if not, I like to repeat, "the common will for common life?" In fact, we had surmounted our racial and religious differences before we obtained autonomy. Besides, in Senegal there are no classes in the real sense of the word. There are "social groups" there — members of the free professions, functionaries, employees in the private sector, farmers, shepherds and fishermen. Between these different social groups there are no rigid barriers. The democratic organization of education — about 37 percent of the children have scholarships, — enables the members of one group to pass into another.

The national problem solved, the most important matter now is to achieve an *African way to socialism*, somewhat after the pattern of the Yugoslav way to socialism. I say "some-what" since geographical, historical and ethnical conditions in Senegal are not the same as in Yugoslavia.

What is the aim of socialism?

It is to offer everybody the opportunity of making the best of all his capacities within a collective society. The chief duty of an underdeveloped society, as ours is, lies in defeating misery, disease and ignorance through the collectivist spirit which is traditional in Black Africa, on the one hand, and through political, educational and economic development of the nation, on the other. In other words, socialism is both *analysis and building* at one and the same time. It is the analysis of the national situation as it really is and the building of a nation on the basis of this reality, with the aim of general harmonious development.

As to politics, only a *national* opposition is allowed. The objective here, is to strengthen the governing party. We have, in fact, created this governing party — the Senegalese Progressive Party — by uniting the parties which used to exist. The ideal would be to create one united party and to achieve democracy within it. But no introduction of "one party system" is in question. We prefer acting through propaganda and persuasion to acting through compulsion.

As regards education, Senegal spends on it ten per cent of her budget, which is a great deal for an underdeveloped country. Our aim is to increase this expenditure to twenty per cent, which would enable us to give scholarships to all children of the statutory age for school attendance. Schooling in Senegal is practically free for pupils of every age, but the secondary and grammar schools admit students on a competitive basis. This education aims at forming citizens of a modern nation who will link the achievements and techniques imported from Europe with Black-African cultural values: the sense of community, the gift of sensibility and sympathy, the sense of rhythm and form, of picture and symbol. The aim is to create Africans of the 20th century.

As regards economy, the objective is to socialize all that can be socialized — but only what can be socialized in this year, in 1960.

In other words, our economy is divided into several, sectors:

1) Agriculture, which will be gradually socialized on the basis of village co-operatives to be linked with state organizations and helped by them.

2) Producing and processing industries controlled by credit distribution, with reduction of taxes in the industries included in the national plan. The aim is to widen the activity of the state in this sector. The state itself runs a number of public enterprises and plays an active part in the mixed companies which it also controls.

3) The third sector, is free in principle, is that of banks and big business establishments. But even here we cannot

pursue a policy of complete "laissez faire." We are exerting influence on this sector too through the distribution of credit. We are doing even more by establishing state banking institutions, such as the Senegalese Development and Credit Bank. At the same time, we are gathering the middle classes and craftsmen into trade associations and co-operative enterprises aided and advised by the state.

I have almost forgotten one important feature of our socialism and planning. We spent two years in making up a detailed inventory of the assets, deficiencies and potential of the Senegalese economy. This inventory was completed in July 1960. In January 1961 we shall worked out a long-term plan covering 25 years, and our first Four Year Plan. All the economic activities of the nation should be included in this long-term plan and in our four-year plans.

QUESTION: Would Your Excellency like to define the objectives of the foreign policy of your country and the role she intends to play in international relations? What are Your Excellency's views on the problems of anti-colonialism at its present stage in general, and on the United Nations' activity in this sphere in particular?

ANSWER: Our socialist postulates do not allow us to be demagogues with formulae imported from Europe, or America or even from Asia. I have said that socialism is the analysis of the real conditions of a certain people at a certain moment of its history, a reality included in the whole development of mankind.

I am going to answer in inverted order.

First of all, we are determined anti-colonialists. I was in 1955 a member of Mr. Edgar Faure's government which gave independence to Morocco and opened the road to Tunisia's independence. As a member of this government, I proposed a round-table conference between the French Government and the Algerian Liberation Movement. In 1958, in the Consultative Committee formed by General de Gaulle, the Senegalese commissaries, Mr. Lamin Gej, President of the National Assembly, and myself, were the only ones to demand the independence of all French colonies, including Algeria. Still, on achieving independence, Senegal remained in the *Community*. The new community is, anyhow, a *contractual community*, based on the independence of the countries which belong to it.

There is only an apparent contradiction here. It results from the socialist analysis of the situation. We, people from the former colonies, cannot be called socialists if we preach hatred of Europe and the whites. We cannot forget that socialism in its modern form is, in spite of everything — a product of Europe and the whites.

We cannot promote international co-operation if we give ourselves over to African continentalism or Senegalese micro-nationalism.

We are, I repeat, determined anti-colonialists. But we have the courage to admit that colonialism — like capitalism and feudalism before it — was only a stage on the path to *universal civilization*. Colonialism deprived us of freedom and destroyed many of our Black-African values but at the same time — why should we deny it — it brought us in exchange certain other values resulting from scientific discoveries, such as socialism and up-to-date technical achievements.

The question for us is how to destroy colonialism as an anachronism, which answers no longer to the reality of the 20th century, while at the same time preserving the useful contributions from Europe: socialism, certain European

technical achievements and even some cultural values, as, for instance, the French language.

Senegalese foreign policy is determined by a twofold necessity: to remain what we are, Senegalese, Negroes, Africans, and at the same time to open the door to international co-operation.

First of all, it is necessary to achieve national security and to strengthen the state institutions. We must find a Senegalese way to socialism. But it is just as necessary to build up circles of widening co-operation, to assemble the African states where French is spoken, to assemble the African states regardless of ethnic, geographical and cultural differences and finally to co-operate within the United Nations.

From this, it can be seen that we intend to preserve our friendly relations with the African nations and to extend them to other peoples too. It is for this purpose that we have remained in the Community, for we cannot be creative if we negate history — I mean the history of our cultural relations with France, whose people remains a great revolutionary people in spite of everything. But apart from France, there are other peoples towards whom we feel friendly. They are those that have succeeded in achieving their own kind of socialism. They include Yugoslavia whose success fills us with enthusiasm.

In a word, Senegal intends to take the middle way of "democratic socialism" between the capitalist and the communist world, choosing a socialism which plans the economic and social policies but preserves the basic freedom of man. The Senegalese Delegation tried to implement such a policy during the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations organization. The Delegation voted for the admission of Communist China and for the acceptance of the delegation appointed by Mr. Kasavubu. Senegal desires the admission of all independent nations to UNO but she is against any interference in the internal affairs of states, even if this interference should come from UNO. UNO must not be in the service of West or East, but it must not replace the formal colonial powers either.

QUESTION: The problem of underdeveloped countries is certainly one of the key problems of our epoch. What form do you think financial assistance to the underdeveloped coun-

tries should take? Would you like to let us know your suggestions as to what should be done by the international community to remove the disproportions in the development of the contemporary world?

ANSWER: I have already touched in part upon the problem of underdeveloped countries. My point of departure was our situation as an underdeveloped and long-colonized country.

That it is the human duty of the developed countries to help the underdeveloped ones is beyond doubt. It is, however, necessary that the underdeveloped countries should first help themselves. The budget of Senegal for 1961 will amount to 60 milliard former French francs, out of which we shall allocate six milliard for public investments, without any foreign aid. Only when the budget has been approved by vote shall we apply for foreign aid.

An ideal solution would be to have a "fund for aiding underdeveloped countries" set up by UNO, and maintained through the contributions of the big powers. Direct aid to underdeveloped countries, be it from the U. S. A. or from the U. S. S. R., always entails the danger of political and economic control of a developed country over an underdeveloped one. By setting up a fund for aiding underdeveloped countries under UNO's sponsorship, this danger would be avoided.

You have certainly realised that this is an important point. As long as there are underdeveloped countries the danger of war will exist too, for in such an economic vacuum a cold war will be conducted by two big powers, not to speak of others. On the other hand, to maintain a state of underdevelopment cannot be said to contribute to the spread of socialism. If one is on the brink of despair one accepts aid from anywhere, whether from the East or the West.

To conclude: The United Nations Organization will fulfil its task if it renders assistance to the underdeveloped countries. This means helping to overcome misery, disease and ignorance. Only thus can the removal of colonialism be achieved; only thus will all nations feel themselves equal for they will be equally developed and be ready to co-operate without ulterior motives. A fraternal community can be built only on equality.

Greece at the Crossroads

BY MARC MARCEAU

GREECE, a country of myths and legends, is sometimes also a country of contrasts. Until not so very long ago, this country could hardly have been described as a model of political stability; yet, now after five years of peace and continuity, some are beginning to think that "the bride is too beautiful". However, Greece has had enough, even far too many revolutions, both military and civil, and enough governments resembling ninepins in a skittle alley and ministers like children's rocking horses. Until a short while ago, the country reminded one of those restless little republics where authority is won through bombshell explosions and lost in unexpected coups d'état. In the course of twenty years, Greece has had fifty governments and fourteen coups d'état, and this is far

too many even for a country which is essentially "political" and where passions are easily roused. After the end of the last world war, a threefold occupation and one tragic internal-political flare-up, the country was flooded with plans for the future, few of them ever put into effect, and promises, most of which were forgotten; she got to know only too well that hell, paved with thousands of good intentions, which distinguishes governments without a future and rulers without a past. Heaps of plans, "archplans" and "superplans" were left undisturbed, while the people who, indignant and embittered, watched this waltz of the ministries could be heard saying ironically: "Tomorrow, they will even shave us free."

And thus, it was always tomorrow, "domani", "mañana" . . . days, weeks and months went by, but the promised bright days, the brilliant tomorrow of which the politicians would speak before the elections — only to forget their promises as soon as votes had been counted, never came to the Greek people. For the last five years however, which suffered so long from chronic political instability, power has been in the hands of the Radical National Union presided over by Mr Constantine Karamanlis — and, to all appearances, it will remain there. This political stability, coveted ever since 1950, is today being praised by some and critically observed by others. Whereas those who hold that peace, security and internal harmony are still the best guarantees for freedom and social progress, are pleased with it, those idling in the lobbies of the administration are inclined to regard it as a misfortune. At the same time, this political stability is gradually emerging as a problem worthy of attention.

The question is whether Greece will continue to enjoy this unprecedented political stability, or, on the contrary, return to her first flirtation to enter a new period of political anomalies. The mere fact that the question could arise after such a long period of fruitful creation sufficiently illustrates the weaknesses of what some people describe as one of the contradictions in democracy of the western type.

While the parties of the Opposition launched continuous attacks against the Government, the followers of the governments that have been in power from 1943 to the present day, contented themselves by saying to their friends and opponents alike, and also to the wavering:

— Observe, state and judge.

They could also have quoted Pythagoras who believed one could tell a real politician by his deeds, rather than his words. It is an unquestionable fact that Mr Karamanlis can present a balance-sheet which is both eloquent and significant. One cannot deny that since 1955, Greece has made enormous progress in all fields, thanks to numerous reforms, large-scale productive work and satisfactory implementation of the plan of economic and social development. The facts in this field speak themselves; Mr Karamanlis, among whose principal merits one should note that he always "leads the game" in a spirit of strict respect for democratic institutions can also boast of having settled the thorny problem of Cyprus, and having kept his country within the alliances she is pledged to, without refusing frank discussions with countries with more or less differing ideologies. In view of the circumstances, Mr Karamanlis's friends believe that he might well ask his critics:

— Where would you like us to go? Do not our achievements of the last five years sufficiently illustrate the advantages of political stability in a country which was without it for so many years? Do we have to put all this at stake again?

But all the arguments put forward by those favouring the ruling party have so far completely failed to confuse their opponents. They instantly retort that if Mr Karamanlis's Government can present such a notable balance-sheet, they can do this only because of the studies and plans drawn up by their predecessors, so that actually they are merely reaping where others have sown. Critics also observe that political stability is not a universal remedy and that first one should be sure of what is implied by stability. They actually consider that political stability of the "South American" or similar type should not be confused with that profound stability resulting from the complete realisation of national tendencies on the part of one or a number of governments.

Accordingly, for Mr Karamanlis's opponents, stability does not necessarily mean that the same people should remain in power, but that continuity of action should be ensured in the different spheres of national life. When the state administration is protected from political changes, the country can proceed along the path of progress unhindered, regardless of whether or not she occasionally replaces her government.

On the other hand, those criticizing Mr Karamanlis and the ruling party think that prolonged stability in a parliamentary regime can jeopardize the free activity of political institutions. After consolidating their key positions, the rulers are less and less willing to allow real control to Parliament, as a result of which the role of Parliament gradually dwindles until it is reduced to a minimum. Furthermore, when a government is sure of its power, there is a danger that it may interfere in spheres which should remain outside its competence, and thus create, though unconsciously, some kind of a super-state beyond the lawful government which will prevent the latter from performing its role as regulator of political life. Consequently, there is a danger that the lawful government may be suppressed or replaced. Political stability in such a case becomes a kind of "crystalization" at the top which can cause the phenomenon of "crystalization" at the bottom, and this may lead to nation-wide disturbances.

Mr Karamanlis's opponents are of the opinion that a government which has been in power for five years concentrates against itself all the national dissatisfactions and hatred, whether justified or unjustified, and compels the different political forces to unite and set up groups which however incompatible, can be explained by the need for opposition to a party feverishly holding on to power. In such conditions, they think that government crises, and changes — at a reasonable intervals — constitute

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some kind of safety valve for parliamentary democracy and so prevent underground fires. In the opinion of these critics it is a regrettable shortcoming of Mr Karamanlis's Government that it attracts all the thunder to the ruling party, and sometimes to the regime, which some of them identify with the ruling party.

Finally, the Opposition has also put forward some concrete arguments of its own nervously entering the arena of polemics and thereby contributing towards the creation of an atmosphere very different from what has existed since 1955. The Opposition accuses the ruling party of having artificially encouraged economic development, while neglecting essential requirements, and of refusing to accept the general policy of less "engagement" regionally and internationally. It follows, therefore, that when the parties of the Opposition want Mr Karamanlis to give up his seat to other political groups, they actually aim at carrying out complete "change".

The main trends of the present situation can be seen from this superficial analysis of a situation which is in fact far more complex. In practice, some believe more firmly than ever that political stability is essential to Greece if she wishes to continue along the path towards full prosperity. A sound currency, the confidence of the people, the respect of other countries, intensive production, peace and order within the country and undisturbed frontiers — can all be envisaged if the government is protected from traditional political changes and "accidents". Consequently, it is important not to allow a disturbance take place in Greece which would endanger her further progress, her international position and even her security and independence.

Others yet, in complete contrast with this, assert that Mr Karamanlis could easily be replaced by someone else,

without any adverse effect on the country. It is the characteristic of parliamentary democracies that they offer opportunities for such changes; it would be an insult to a Parliament created by national will, to believe it to be incapable of offering a different formula of government. They also consider that authority is inevitably worn out by time, and that it would be a good thing to replace the team which has been holding the reins ever since 1955 so as to avoid a disturbance of the rhythm in the free play of democratic institutions.

So it remains to be seen whether Greece, which has once again found herself at a crossroads, will choose in 1961 something new or not. Since this choice is to take place on the eve of her integration in the European Community, at a moment when she is aware, more than ever before, of the appeals of her history and the regional reality with which she is confronted, the choice must necessarily be a decisive one. This is why the ordinary Greek is thoughtful today. His thoughts run on the following lines: if those who wish to succeed Mr Karamanlis are truly capable of introducing into the country something new and useful, then the fall of the man who has been in power for the last five years will be regretted by none except his friends; but if such a fall would open the door to fresh complications, the Greek people have reason to be anxious about the future.

In point of fact, it is not so very important for the Greek people to know that a possible change would not threaten the constructive achievements of Mr Karamanlis's Government. The Government still has a chance of proving to them that it is capable of enduring until the end of its normal mandate. If the opposite happens, it will be up to the Greek people to decide.

VIEWS AND OPINIONS

Affirmation of Co-Existence

BY LEO MATES

THE FIRST countries of Asia freed from colonization and dependence after the Second World War, in their first years in the United Nations concentrated their attention primarily and predominantly on their own direct problems and on aid to those that were on the threshold of independence. These problems concerned assistance to underdeveloped countries, racial discrimination in the South African Union, Morocco and Tunisia, and the like. But the activity of the new member countries widened gradually and included questions in closer connection with general issues of international tension and the cold war.

In this respect it will be of interest to recall the question of Indo-China, in which the inter-relations of the struggle for independence and the problems of the cold war were so sharply reflected. The outbreak of the war in Korea, the speeded-up arms race, and the aggravation of the cold war in all regions,

attracted more and more the attention of the newly liberated countries, and resulted in their active engagement on a wider international scale. At the same time the number of liberated countries and their scope of participation in the work of the United Nations General Assembly increased too.

In this process an important role was played, not only by the formal recognition of independence, but by the achievement of actual independence by the "young" nations and by their freedom to determine their own policy. Indonesia, for instance, fought a long battle for independence after her formal independence had already been recognized. Egypt appeared as an independent factor on the international stage only several years after the war, when the regime of Faruk was overthrown. In Ceylon this turning point was marked by the victory of the Government of Bandaranaike, the leader who lost his life.

As a result of this process and the successful struggle of the liberation movements, first in Asia, then in North Africa and finally in the whole of Africa, the number of new, independent countries, and their political experience, increased considerably, while at the same time the United Nations membership gradually increased, and the disproportion in the representation of the continents vanished by degrees, so that this Organization, which had originally represented only the developed part of mankind, became a world organization in the true sense of the word. The role of the new members from Asia and Africa grew in importance, which led to a forceful confirmation of the policy for which these countries pledged themselves.

Even this cursory review of the process and the conditions for the achievement of independence of the former "dependent" territories shows that their present position in the first ranks of the policy of non-alignment with blocs is a logical consequence of their political experience and the protection of their own vital interests. The conditions needed for the strengthening of their independence, and the urgency of the problems of their own economic and other internal development, demand an international situation and atmosphere in complete contrast to the present state of cold war and arms race. In fact, the liberation of colonies, and not only in such cases as that of Indo-China, is hampered today, not so much by the resistance of the metropolises as by bloc interests.

The anti-colonial movement has attained great success, not only as regards the number of the countries liberated from classical colonization, but in the international recognition of the obsolescence of this system in general. This is the historical attainment of the anti-colonial movement, which changes and develops in an informal way even the Charter of the United Nations. Chapter IX of the Charter is entitled: "Declaration on Non-Self-Governing Territories." There are no obligatory or concrete provisions in it, only objectives and principles being enumerated. But the clause is so worded that the word independence is completely avoided. Under this clause the colonial metropolises are bound to be good protectors of the colonial peoples, to take care of their welfare and to grant them self-government within the limits of the level of their development. Independence as an alternative to self-government is mentioned only under chapter X, which deals with trusteeship territories and refers to the few colonies that were under the trusteeship of the League of Nations.

The recent declaration adopted by vote on this essential question is clear and concise: "The General Assembly solemnly proclaims the necessity of the urgent termination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, and to this end it announces that it is necessary immediately to undertake measures with a view to transferring, in all trust territories, non-self-governing territories and all other territories that have not yet obtained independence, the executive power to the peoples of these territories without any conditions or provisos, in compliance with their freely expressed will and wish, without any discrimination with regard to race, religion or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom. . . ."

It was no accident that this triumph of the principles of the anti-colonial movement, which were unrecognized until quite recently, was manifested at last year's UNO Session, where the anti-colonial countries proved to be the leaders and the motive power of a non-aligned policy. The struggle for the definite liquidation of colonialism is in fact the struggle for equal relations among nations, said the movers of the Declaration, who expressed in it the fundamental principles

underlying relations between peoples and states. By opposing any kind of subordination or exploitation in international relations, this document is a further logical step following on the original demand for the recognition of formal independence, because it links independence with the conditions of international relations in general. Thus it is not surprising that the movers of this Declaration were the same countries that, at the beginning of the Session, had given the initiative for the resolution on co-operation between states, which was unanimously adopted at the end of the general debate, and which was an appeal to suspend the cold war and to apply the principles of international co-operation for which the countries which are not aligned with blocs are struggling. At no former session did the non-aligned countries take the initiative so forcefully, nor succeed in rallying so many members of the United Nations. These countries did not come forward as an element between the blocs, to represent a kind of no-man's-land on the field of the battle between the blocs, but as an active and constructive force representing the interests of all peoples. The result was that many of the most important resolutions were passed with a two-thirds majority, which did not always contain the votes of the big powers. The Western big powers, who had been accustomed for years to the backing of the majority, found themselves often among the few opposition voters or abstainers.

It would have been difficult to imagine such a situation in the first years of existence of the world organization, when bloc polarization dominated, and the number of those that were not cogs in the voting machines was insignificant. It should not be forgotten that at the time of the foundation of the United Nations the conception of "the primary responsibility of the big powers for peace in the world" prevailed. The raising of the Security Council to first place in the question of peace, and the most important questions concerning the organizing of the United Nations, reflected in fact this conception of a kind of directorate of the big powers. Thus it is no wonder that in a situation in which such clauses were stipulated in the Charter the practice of the United Nations could not be substantially different.

These conceptions reflected the relative weakness and exhaustion of nearly all the members of the United Nations, as well as their dependence on the big powers at that time, which was the consequence of the Second World War or, to be more accurate, of the situation in the last months of that war. Besides this, it should be borne in mind that the number of members participating in the San Francisco Conference was limited to fifty. Asia and Africa were hardly represented at all. The Organization was practically confined to representatives of both Americas, Europe and the British Commonwealth. The path that mankind has travelled since — reflected after some delay, in the composition and finally in the actions of the United Nations — has created a basis not only for the confirmation of a non-aligned policy but for the further development of the basic conceptions and principles of the Organization, in spite of the fact that the Charter cannot be formally changed unless each power permanently represented in the Security Council gives its consent.

These new elements in the work of the General Assembly do not imply that sudden and radical changes will be brought about in international relations. The confirmation in the United Nations of the non-aligned policy, after it has stood the test of the world in recent years, can only have the effect which the appearance of new dynamic forces, as the protagonists of dynamic and progressive ideas, have usually had in history. Their effect cannot be but gradual as they must encounter the

resistance of old conceptions, and cannot avoid temporary or provisional set-backs.

At this Session, such was the issue of the debate on the Congo when the conjuncture of entangled interests and views, and the wide-scoped activity of the opponents of any constructive solution of the Congo crisis, prevented the adoption of a resolution which would have defined the tasks of the United Nations in a more concrete and precise way, so as to prevent the distortion in practice of the principles laid down in the former resolutions concerned with this question.

It is obvious that the great historical task of leading humanity away from the abyss of the cold war, which constantly endangers peace and the existence of all peoples, can be fulfilled only by the forces that are not engaged in this conflict. Its settlement by violence would end in catastrophe. On the other hand, it is difficult to conceive the achievement of an agreement on normal inter-state relations or the establishment of constructive inter-state co-operation (of course, without entering into ideological contradictions or those between the social systems) unless the influence of the countries which have unreservedly pledged themselves for the defence of peace and the furtherance of international co-operation, by recognizing the equality and independence of all nations, is strengthened.

The confirmation of the non-aligned policy at this Session is not only a great step towards adapting the United Nations to the requirements of international development and to the course of contemporary history, but it has created new opportunities for this movement to advance towards peace and international co-operation in general. The power and importance of this new factor in international relations will greatly depend on the internal consolidation and general level of development of the countries that are the leaders of this policy. This is a vicious circle in a sense, for these countries are struggling for better international relations to create better conditions for the speeding-up of their own development, while, on the other, the level of their development and their specific weight in international relations depends on these relations themselves. But in every critical phase of history such vicious circles are created, and they are an impediment to the development of progressive forces in every epoch. Still, the results which have been achieved up to now show that the actual influence of these countries is strong enough to bring about great changes in the conditions of today, which will certainly facilitate their further action.

The Colonial Question at the Fifteenth UN Session

BY DJ. JERKOVIC

THE COLONIES and their problems have been on UNO's agenda or on that of its organs and General Assembly sessions ever since the foundation of that Organization. There are chapters in the UNO Charter dealing solely with the colonies and trusteeship territories, and it is on account of them that separate organs — the Trusteeship Council, and the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly — were set up within the United Nations Organization. But the Charter does not formulate clearly enough the task of the colonial powers in their colonies, nor does it precisely define the scope of UNO's competence, so that partly because of this, and partly owing to the fact that UNO lacks the forces which would bring about a progressive interpretation of the Charter in this domain — the anticolonial forces had to confine themselves to a struggle for limited objectives and rest content with efforts for the emancipation of the colonies, with results that were often quite modest. Instead of the liquidation of colonialism as a system, most of the actions in the United Nations were for years confined to efforts to make colonial administration more liberal, and to encouraging a progressive trend of development in the colonies. Only in exceptional cases was it possible to launch an action for the direct and radical abolition of colonial domination, as has been the case in Algeria, where a regular war has been waged for several years, so that this problem is discussed as part of UNO's responsibility for peace and security in the world.

With all their limitations, the direct actions taken by UNO, in the conditions of the decay of colonialism, produced an immediate and great effect by helping to mare this process of decay as painless as possible by contributing to the more

rapid and more steady emancipation of the colonies. It may even be said that in the period of the liquidation of colonial relations, first in Asia and then in Africa, in the period after the Second World War, when colonial rule was terminated in a great number of Asian and African countries under the pressure of national movements and other important changes in the world, the chief task of UNO was to secure the continuity and adequate rhythm of this process. At the same time it prevented it from exceeding the bounds which are of substantial interest to universal peace and to world stability.

The moment when UNO should take a stand on the question of colonialism, with a demand for the immediate liquidation of colonial relations — and when it would be able to do so — had to be prepared. In fact it was necessary to wait until the maturing of certain indispensable conditions, if predetermined defeat or inadequate and perhaps even discouraging results were to be avoided.

By many indications, the recent Fifteenth UN Session promised from the very outset to be the long-expected opportunity for the anticolonial forces rightfully to demand that colonial relations should be immediately and completely liquidated throughout the world, and rightfully to expect that their demand would obtain the necessary support in UNO's ranks.

First, in recent years, the decay of colonialism has been considerably accelerated. The activities of the former colonies, the increasingly dynamic national movements for liberation in the remaining colonies, and the constant actions of the progressive countries both in the United Nations and outside it, completely undermined the bases of colonial politics and domination, while the liberation struggle of several years in

Algeria served as a bloody scourge to drive forward the cause of anti-colonialism in Africa. What has been left over from colonialism in the era of the Fifteenth Session are the remnants of a system whose definite and complete liquidation is only a question of time, a question of days.

Second, what has often checked the speed of the emancipation of the peoples in the colonies and sometimes paralyzed efforts and initiative for the liquidation of colonialism is the fact that these actions and initiatives took place in the atmosphere and relations of the cold war. These actions were sometimes interpreted or understood as tactical moves from one of the two camps which were conflicting and struggling for predominance in the cold war. The liberation movements in the colonies were hardly ever marked with a bloc brand, nor did they represent the extension of any bloc; nevertheless, willy nilly, they made their contribution to the era of cold war and of long lasting friction between East and West, owing to the fact that they were developing in such conditions. Only with the appearance in the former colonies of a number of independent national states, most of which, guided by the logic of their own elementary interests, at once joined the front of peace and independence, the front of the unengaged countries, was it possible for them to take a firmer grip on the cause of the colonial people and to direct their emancipation along the path which was the shortest and the safest for their goal. What provided the Fifteenth General Assembly Session with a specific characteristic in this respect is the fact that so many of the former colonies on the soil of Asia and Africa have taken on their own shoulders the heaviest burden of the anti-colonial struggle, and borne it forward indomitably. They succeeded in finding a common language with other anti-colonial powers outside these regions, in the socialist countries and in some other European and Latin American countries. Thanks to this, many obstacles were overcome, and a considerable stretch of the way to the ultimate goal — the complete liquidation of colonialism — was covered.

In view of these trends it was quite natural that anti-colonial ideas, more radical than at the previous sessions, were voiced, and that the anti-colonial forces prepared to put forward demands and proposals for the immediate and complete liquidation of the existing colonial relations. The declaration on the liquidation of colonialism submitted by the U. S. S. R., which was placed on the agenda with acclamation and submitted for debate to the plenum of the Assembly, was in this spirit. At about the same time the idea was put forward that the Fifteenth Session should fix short and precise terms for the achievement of the independence of every existing colony. Meanwhile the Session should, by an adequate resolution, enable the true representatives of the colonial peoples to participate with full powers in the work of all UN organs, in order to cooperate in assuring and accelerating the process of liberation.

These are the ideas expressed by the Yugoslav Delegation at the beginning of the work of the Fourth Committee, which were, from the first, conceived as a supplement to any good anti-colonial declaration the Session might adopt.

The balance of forces and the general atmosphere in the first, initial phase of the Session, especially with regard to the prospects of the anti-colonial struggle, were very encouraging. This was shown not only by the manner in which the debate on the Soviet Declaration was conducted at the plenum, but also by the treatment of the resolution on the direct participation of the representatives of the colonial peoples in the work of the United Nations. It was in this favourable situation that the Congo, after its long and thorny vicissitudes and the

tragic deviations in the performance of UNO's mission, was set upon the path which should have led that country and UNO to the desired goal. But this precious opportunity was missed and Western policy rotted up the ground, only to make an attack on UNO and the cause of Congo, with the aim of throwing it back on a course which, as is realized by all who are not blind or deaf, leads to disaster. The presence of the heads of the independent countries and their efforts, which were for the first time made collectively within so wide a scope, probably marks the highest degree of confirmation an independent policy has achieved in the world hitherto. They created an atmosphere in the initial phase of the Session which encouraged and promised the attainment of important results in all fields of the Session's activity. This particularly refers to the colonial problems, which brought together all the countries of Africa and Asia and many others outside them, and in which a broad and efficient front was created, which rallied most frequently round the independent African groups.

But the concrete results reached at the Session in this field cannot be regarded as an adequate reflection of the objective possibilities or expectations. If we leave out the resolution on Algeria, results are reduced to the adopted Afro-Asian anti-colonial declaration (which came as the fruit of the debate on the project of the Soviet declaration), to the resolution on the participation of the colonial representatives in UNO's work, and to some less important resolutions on certain problems pertaining to colonial relations, such as racial discrimination and the furnishing of data. In addition there are two useful resolutions, one concerned with South West Africa and the other with Ruanda Urundi.

What is wanting in the whole matter is in fact its essence: a defined, precisely stipulated resolution on the shortest terms for the abolition of colonial relations, and a method for the shaping of the process of liberation within the time set. General declarations on colonialism, the confirmation of general principles, aspirations and views, are an attractive corroboration of the general policy of the majority of UNO members in the era of speeded-up disintegration of colonialism, when it is more evident than ever before that its position is indefensible, a permanent source of instability, conflict and war, and when it is giving or promising less and less to the colonial powers themselves; but what is actually needed is a concrete, radical decision on the exact term for the abolition of colonial relations, such as the majority of the countries in the United Nations wished and expected and were ready to support.

In this regard there is a certain parallel with the development, responsibility and consequences of the tragedy in the Congo. This is quite natural, since what is happening in the Congo is merely a specific aspect of colonial policy, a specific manifestation of the same policy that is carrying on the war in Algeria, short-sightedly and obstinately, that maintains slave-relations in Angola and Mozambique and is making new manoeuvres in Kenya, Rhodesia and Ruanda Urundi, only to put off, even at the cost of provoking dangerous armed conflicts, the day of its liquidation.

The colonial powers did not directly oppose the initiative taken by the anti-colonists at the Fifteenth Assembly, a feature which distinguishes it from the former ones, when these powers had still the strength for direct resistance. But they found ways and means of blunting the sharp edge of initiative and of creating, by provoking block contest and deploying block argumentation, confusion and disturbance whenever there was a transition from the treatment of general principles and postulate to the sphere of concrete debates and specific resolutions. The note of inter-bloc squaring of accounts which, from the

very beginning, was introduced in the Session by both the Western and Eastern sides in connection with more or less open questions, dominated the debate on colonialism too. It had an unfavourable influence especially on the newly admitted member countries which, owing to insufficient political maturity, tried to find relief from such a situation by standing aside, by remaining passive, from where it was only a step to the position of the partner with whom they were still rather closely connected in other questions as well.

The final outcome of the anti-colonial efforts at this session was also influenced by the fact that African theory and initiative in a question which, for the African countries, is one of the elementary problems of their bare existence, was not sufficiently confirmed. For many anticolonial countries the liquidation of colonialism is a matter of morals, ethics and justice, a matter of determined principles, and a matter of a determined policy which serves the cause of peace and progress in the world. This attitude is quite understandable and it is the only possible one. But for the independent African countries, for the whole African continent, the liquidation of colonialism, which is increasingly becoming the cause of this continent alone, is the precondition for development, for the consolidation of hard-won independence, and for a secure future. Thus, it might be expected that the anti-colonial countries outside Africa would adapt themselves in this domain to the theories and rhythm of African policy more than had been the case before, and not try to introduce elements of a separate policy from some other region of the world. This is what the case of the Congo was or ought to have been — a country whose tragedy cannot and must not leave one indifferent, but where independent African policy has own responsibility, its own obligations, and the right to be understood. That the colonial relations in other regions were liquidated earlier and in a somewhat different way and that in Asia independent policy has already attained a higher phase of development should not

be regarded as a reason for discrimination in the domain of anticolonialism, even in the case of the Congo. On the contrary, it should be regarded as another reason for the stronger support of African independence.

Be that as it may, the Fifteenth Session, or rather its first part, has left much unfinished, and has left plenty of room for action and initiative at the next Session, not only in the domain of colonial relations, but also regarding most of the other problems dealt with. Thus the adjournment of the Session, and its forthcoming continuation in the first days of March, is perhaps a favourable circumstance. If this respite is taken proper advantage of, the next part of the Session will perhaps make up for what has been missed, and achieve by new and fresh efforts all that it could not or did not manage to do in its first part. In continuation of the Session, the First committee and the Special Committees will work separately, as will the Colonial Committee: in a word, the Committees which were overburdened with the most crucial problems, and in which results did not come up to expectations. Conditions in the world have not deteriorated, and meanwhile relations between East and West may even be released from the present deadlock. This would improve the balance of forces within the United Nations, and if the Session is continued in March under such good auspices it may be expected that efforts in connection with the neglected question of the term for the independence of colonies may be renewed. It may also be expected that regarding disarmament efforts will be made to take that step which was not taken in the first part of the Session. If so, this Session which, owing to some of its elements, has proved to be an extraordinary one, and which, owing to the influence and confirmation of an independent policy, stands out as a unique one, may be recorded as a fruitful session, leading the world away from uncertainty and tension after the Paris crisis, and justifying the hopes it raised in the world.

YUGOSLAVIA TODAY

FIVE YEARS OF THE COMMUNAL SYSTEM

IN 1955 there began a new period in the development of communal self-government in Yugoslavia, marked by great changes in the competence of the local organs of authority, which resulted in the strengthening of their competence and in important changes in the political division of the territories of the communes and districts. The introduction of the communal system was a component part of the changes which were made in the course of the socialist development of Yugoslavia after 1950. Two significant measures taken in this period had a particular influence both on the development of the country and on the communal system: the introduction of workers' self-government in 1950, and the Constitutional Law of 1953.

The building of the communal system, one of the pillars of the social order in Yugoslavia, is based on the principle that for the successful building of socialism the fullest activity

of all working people, and their broad initiative, unhampered by the bureaucratism of the central organs, is needed. The conscious socialist forces must display this initiative, which should come increasingly from below — from the local authorities.

The communal system in Yugoslavia shows that the great principles of social democracy can be carried into practice with amazing results. The five years' development of the communal system advanced in step with the marked economic progress of the country, with the strengthening of its economic power and of various forms of socialist economic activity. Thanks to her economic success, Yugoslavia was raised in this period to one of the countries with the most rapid pace of economic development, and thus became an example to the underdeveloped countries, of rapid release from backwardness. This rapid development was facilitated by her communal system.

In its character the communal system of Yugoslavia, in spite of any resemblance to local self-governing institutions in other countries, or to previous forms in Yugoslavia, is a new phenomenon. When the communal institutions of today and the principles underlying them are studied, it should be borne in mind that they were designed to a certain extent in the light of previous experience, but carried out in quite new conditions, on quite new economic bases and in a specific political situation.

The new period of communal development, which began in 1955, should also be distinguished from the period marking the beginning of the People's Liberation Struggle in 1941. The essential differences are as follows: a) the abandonment of the classical forms of self-government; b) the changes resulting from the socialist development after the abandonment of the centralized management of the economy and society.

The following features are of paramount importance in the development of the communal system in Yugoslavia:

- 1) social ownership of the means of production;
- 2) workers' self-management and self-management of social services — exclusion of state interference;
- 3) decentralization;
- 4) wide development of forms of direct democracy.

Many classical forms of local self-government are characterized by conflicts between the local organs of self-government and the central authorities. In previous decades such conflicts have, as a rule, been settled to the detriment of local self-government. Besides this, local self-government was very often reduced to simple, decentralized administration without broader self-governing rights or democratic forms. In this way local self-government — or local government, as local administration is already called by many to emphasize the changes brought about — was reduced to a form of government of lower rank, subordinate to administrative control. There are, of course many instances of deviation from these general characteristics, but both practice and theory of local self-government can be said without hesitation to have experienced a considerable decline, and a deviation from some of their constructive characteristics in the period of liberal capitalism.

Consequently, the present development of local self-government in Yugoslavia should not be regarded as a mere rebirth of the classical institutions, but as an essentially new phenomenon.

To assess the significance of local self-government it is very important to know the financial resources which are at the disposal of the local units. The period ending in 1955 was characterized by the fact that considerable financial resources were at the disposal of the federal organs. This was necessary in view of the limited possibilities for wide economic activity immediately after the devastation of the war, and in the period of the economic blockade by the Eastern bloc. But since the establishment of the communal system great progress has been made towards the strengthening of the material resources of the local units. The increase in funds has been quite considerable, both in the field of budget expenditure and in that of economic investment.

It is quite natural that the funds in the communes should be formed in keeping with the general objectives of the economic policy. Yugoslav society represents an economic whole in which each part has its determined task. This means that the communes are by no means self-sufficient units, but integral parts of a united system within which they have grown into a factor of primary importance. The functions of the districts and communes, as parts of the united state organism, are

accommodated to the general functions of society, and focussed on stimulating the development of socialist relations in general, and rapid economic development in particular.

The fact that the direct relations between the citizens, economic organizations and other social institutions on the one hand, and the authorities on the other, are within the competence of the communes of the municipalities or districts, proves that the best solution has been found. The essentially new feature in the development of the communal system, which distinguishes it from local self-government in other countries, lies in this fact. The growing integration of the regions within the national boundaries, a primary consequence of this development, need not lead to the liquidation of the role of the local organs of authority. On the contrary, by certain changes, local units may become, and in Yugoslavia they are becoming, an indispensable form of participation of the working people in state and social affairs.

The fact that the citizen-worker's vital interests are linked with the activities of the commune is of special importance to the communal system. The living conditions of the working people and the level of their living standard greatly depend on the manner in which the commune acts in all its affairs.

The forming and the amount of the resources of the communes depends above all on the activities of the economic organizations working on the territory concerned. The commune has at its disposal the surplus funds resulting from work carried out on its territory. It is natural that the commune, as a whole, should be interested in obtaining the greatest possible amount of such resources. The citizens, for their part, are interested in the most rational utilization of these resources when distributed to budgets and various funds. This means that the income of the communes is formed on the principle of "distribution according to work". The greater the rate of production and productivity the greater the resources both at the disposal of the individual citizens and of the communes.

The citizens, as a rule, satisfy all their needs from their personal income, either directly or indirectly: directly in their households, indirectly through various public services. Thus the communes have grown into the basic factor of social standard in all domains, including communal affairs, the building of dwelling houses, elementary and middle schooling, social welfare, national health and cultural activities.

Recently great changes have been brought about in the political division of the territories of the municipalities and districts, in consequence of the considerable reduction of their number. In principle, the idea of larger districts and municipalities has been adopted, small territories with poor economic resources and with underdeveloped institutions being unable to fulfil the numerous tasks of local self-government. In 1955 there were 107 districts and 1,479 municipalities in Yugoslavia. Today there are 75 districts and 800 municipalities. In comparison with the period before 1955 the rate of the reduction in the number of local units is still greater.

With all these changes and the territorial enlargement of the municipalities and districts, it was considered that the influence of the citizens on the policy and work of the bodies of representatives and their organs should not be weakened by the formation of large units.

The communal system of today should not be regarded as a completed process. On the contrary, a number of new political, economic and legal problems are the subjects of study by responsible factors and technical advisers. Further measures can, however, be made only by strengthening the role of the local units, and by the participation of the working people in the building of socialism in their country.

LOVCEN FILM

The locale of "Lovćen Films" is in Montenegro, in Budva a little town on the Adriatic coast. "Lovćen Films" enterprise has fifty kilometers of varied landscape for the taking of films — at only two kilometers distance there are orange-groves and snow, steppes and canyons, modern highways and traditional goat-paths, hills, two thousand meters high, plains, rivers, lakes and the sea with long beaches, some of them more than two kilometers long. For these reasons Budva is the locale of "Lovćen Films" which has a branch in Belgrade. It is an ideal place for making all kinds of films, pirate, Russian, modern beach films, detective films, races on modern highways, historical films with old buildings, towers, castles, etc. The following have played in films produced by "Lovćen Films" or for which the company has given technical aid or which it filmed in co-production: Folko Luli, Antonuela Lualdi, Franko Interlengi, Siv Rivers, Gjorgja Mol, Scila Gabel, Anita Ekberg, Franko Silva, Jack Palans, Suzan Strasberg, Loran Terzijef, Emanuela Riva, Hors Frank, Broderick Craford, Bibi Anderson, Anita Bjork, Valentina Korteze and others.

"DOKTOR KOLAR"

A Yugoslav film
in black and white,
wide-screen

Scenario and Director:
Leonardo Berković

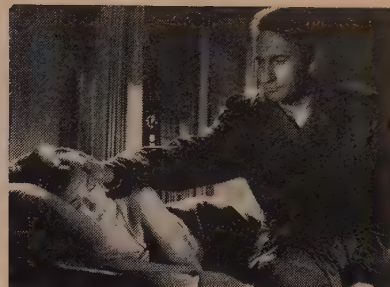
The main roles are
played by: Broderick
Craford, Branko Pleša,
Viktor Starčić,
Bert Sotlar, Valentina
Korteze, Bibi Anderson,
Hermina Pipinić
and Anita Bjork.



"THOU SHALT NOT KILL"

Cinemascope
Scenario: Oransh and
Pjer Bost. Director:
Klod Otan Lara

The main roles are
played by: Loran Ter-
zijef, Horst Frank,
Mavid Popović, Du-
šan Djordjević, Suzan
Flo, Marjan Lovrić,
Ivo Jakšić, Ljubiša
Jocić, Jovan Gec,
Mića Orlović.



"CAPO"

Loran Terzijef
Suzan Strasberg



President Tito's Speech in the Federal Peoples's Assembly

On December 26 1960 President Tito submitted a report to the Yugoslav National Assembly concerning the new Five-Year Plan of Economic Development and a review of socialist construction so far and results of its economic development. The Review is publishing excerpts from his speech.

In view of the development already attained, the proposed Social Plan of Economic Development of Yugoslavia for the coming five-year period, with the economic and political aims and tasks it contains, represents a continuation and a further link in the realization of our consistent policy of socialist development.

In view of the much broader material and social basis, now existing the proposed Plan provides very important, large and complex tasks for the coming five-year period. The significance of these tasks, however, does not lie in the envisaged rate of economic growth only. It consists in those qualitative changes which will take place in the course of the realization of the Plan and in those features by which its fulfilment will be marked. With the gross social product and national income which, by the end of the next five-year period, should be increased by over 70 percent with regard to the present level, that is with the average national income approximately 600 US dollars per capita, and with the further changes in the structure of the population by which the share of agricultural population in the total population, will be reduced to about 42 percent, new tasks, different in quality, are set for our economy and society. Once all these tasks are fulfilled, our country will reach the level of industrially and economically developed countries.

All these elements will bring about very radical transformations and further qualitative changes in economy and society, both in production and its structure, in the direction taken by production, in the investment policy and in the distribution of social funds, in economic activities, in the movement of productivity, personal consumption and standard, as well as in a further development of socialist relations in society.

The implementation of the policy of a further accelerated development of productive forces and a coordinated development of the entire economy, as envisaged by the proposed Plan, will necessitate a speedier advancement of those economic fields and branches which have a decisive role to play. Therefore, this will necessitate a further development of basic raw materials, semi-finished products and power, improvement in the production of equipment, continuation of a more intense expansion of building industry and the industry of building materials and an acceleration of the growth of the consumer goods industry.

In compliance with the policy followed in the advancement of agriculture, it will be necessary to continue in the coming period the highly favourable progress achieved in that field in the last few years. This will be brought about by the consolidation of socialist agricultural organizations and their means and by intensifying their cooperation with individual agricultural producers. Thereby the participation of the socialist sector in agricultural production as a whole, and specially in the formation of surpluses for the market, will be further increased. Parallel with the development of agricultural production other activities indispensable for its successful advancement should be encouraged. In the next period, as a whole, in all the economic fields more varied production better in quality should be ensured so that the growing and more varied needs of consumption can be even more fully satisfied. While developing production and internal and foreign trade we should further improve transport, commerce and various services.

ACTIVITIES OF THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT IN FOREIGN POLICY

I should like to take this opportunity to deal with the activities of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in foreign policy in 1960 which has come to a specially prominent expression in the United Nations where, in close cooperation with representatives of other nonaligned countries, the representatives of Yugoslavia constructively pursued the policy of safeguarding peace and the settlement of disputed international issues by peaceful means particularly the problem of disarmament and the colonial question — and assistance to insufficiently developed countries. This activity came as a result of the consistent endeavours of Yugoslavia to contribute to the easing of international tension and the adoption of methods of negotiation and understanding among peoples and States for the settlement of all outstanding international problems. Having always been against the application of methods of solving disputed questions from the position of power or by attempts to impose on peoples decision and solutions which are not in keeping with their genuine interests and aspirations, Yugoslavia had in view the need to safeguard peace and to bring about active international cooperation among all countries irrespective of the differences in their internal systems and in other ways, and on the basis of respect of the principle of independence, equality, and non-interference in the internal affairs of others.

Yugoslavia's consistent and principled attitudes in the examination of those problems, specially with regard to Algeria and in connection with the crisis in the Congo, the situation in Laos and the events regarding Cuba, have contributed even more to an even higher reputation of our country in the world and especially in the countries of Asia and Africa. We were and still are particularly concerned with the case of the Congo where the Parliament, the legal Government and the people, by various manoeuvres of interested colonial powers, have been deprived of the possibility of attaining full independence and unity which would enable them to devote their efforts to the removal of backwardness

and underdevelopment, the results of colonial rule in that country for many decades. Our concern is specially caused by the policy of gross interference of colonial powers in the Congo which has created a dangerous situation of civil war on the African Continent and a menacing focus of international conflicts which can lead the world to the greatest danger, that of a new general war. In Laos, we could see, in the last few days, reactionary forces, with General Nosa-vana at the head, gaining open military support from Thailand and some other Western powers. As aggressors in that unfortunate country they are not only devastating everything and killing the peaceful population, but are also kindling the fires of war, which may lead to grave consequences.

In the early months of 1960 it seemed that a gradual easing of international tension would prevail on the international scene and that more intense efforts would be made to find possibilities for peaceful solutions of outstanding international problems. Such expectations which were optimistic to some extent, were justified at the time of the visit of the Soviet Premier Comrade Khrushchev to America and during his talks with the President of the U. S. A., Mr. Eisenhower. They inspired many people with the hope that we had come to a turning point in international relations and to a better and calmer international atmosphere. We, in Yugoslavia, entertained such a hope. Our disappointment was the greater when, after the failure of the well-known Paris Conference, we saw the full depth of the gap dividing the western from the eastern countries, that is the great powers, the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. Instead of improving the international situation kept deteriorating. This was fully manifested at the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly. . .

In spite of a rather troubled and tense situation in the world, which appeared at the Fifteenth General Assembly Session as well, the uncommitted countries have vigorously asserted themselves as an element of peace and international understanding, whose importance and role must be taken into consideration. It has been proved on several occasions that the big powers can no longer exercise a decisive influence on the adoption of decisions, although it is clear that the effectiveness of interventions and actions of nonaligned countries are in some cases still dependent on numerous circumstances attached to the general constellation of international relations and to the specific position of various uncommitted countries. The fact that, specially in the case of big western countries, so far no genuine efforts for a rapprochement nor readiness for the renewal of contacts with the other side have not yet been noticed, undoubtedly causes concern. This can to a certain extent be explained by the presidential elections and the forthcoming changes in the U. S. A. administration. We still expect that the great danger which the maintenance of a high degree of international tension holds for the whole world will be realized and that efforts will be made to find solutions for major international problems by means of negotiation and not by relying on force.

YUGOSLAVIA'S RELATIONS AND COOPERATION WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

In its foreign policy in 1960 the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia has consistently adhered to the principles on which our foreign policy has been based in the entire post-war period, that is the policy of peace and peaceful cooperation with all peoples and States irrespective of the differences in their social systems. We have consistently endeavoured to consolidate our links and cooperation specially with the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We extended our relations with numerous newly liberated countries in Africa, established diplomatic relations with them and are on the way to realizing friendly cooperation with them specially in the political, economic and cultural fields.

With socialist countries, with the exception of China and Albania, we have broadened our cooperation in the relations between States specially in the economic and cultural fields. In the political field, this year, in the United Nations in particular, we had identical views with them on the most important international issues of the day, such as the problems of full liquidation of colonialism, complete disarmament and others. An identity of views exists, accordingly, just on questions with which the world is most concerned at present and which demand urgent solution for they are a constant danger to world peace.

As regards bilateral relations with socialist countries we can note that one-year economic agreements have been concluded with most of them, and long-term economic agreements with some, while negotiations are in course or under preparation for the conclusion of such agreements with other countries. This year trade with these countries accounts for about 27 percent of the total Yugoslav foreign trade. The results achieved and many economic considerations show that there are conditions for a further extension of trade and for other forms of economic cooperation in general. Having in view the development of economic relations with the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid, four of which are our neighbours, we have in the course of the last year twice expressed our desire that Yugoslavia should obtain the status of a permanent observer in that regional European economic organization and were refused on both occasions. At the end of October 1960 we proposed that our country should participate as observer or full member in the Commission for Transport of the Council for Mutual Economic Aid in view of the common interests we have in this sphere of international transport. No answer has as yet followed this Yugoslav initiative. We think that correctly understood mutual interests demand that economic problems of common interest should be jointly examined and settled.

Considering that the development of good neighbourly relations on broad basis forms an important element for the promotion of mutual cooperation as well, Yugoslavia proposed to the neighbouring socialist countries, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary the establishment of small frontier traffic and the settlement of the problem of properties cut by the frontier line. We are of the opinion

that the regulation of these questions would be favourably reflected in the mutual relations with these countries and in cooperation in the Balkans in general. These Yugoslav proposals, however, have not yet encountered a corresponding response.

With the western countries we have based our relations on the principles of peaceful active coexistence irrespective of the different social systems. Our cooperation with capitalist countries was of a predominantly economic and cultural nature. On many political questions, however, either of a general or mutual interest, cooperation with many western countries was very fruitful. Unfortunately, on the major and most important international problems such as disarmament, liquidation of colonialism, non-interference in the internal affairs of other peoples etc, that is, on the very questions which are decisive for the destiny of mankind, we could not bring our views into harmony and could not achieve constructive cooperation. It is only natural that all this should sometimes give rise to various difficulties in cooperation on other, for instance economic questions, for some partners in the West cannot accept the fact that we cannot abandon our principle for the sake of advantages of the moment which are, moreover, never one-sided. But in spite of the obstacles which sometimes arise our economic and cultural cooperation with western countries is not in a state of stagnation; it even keeps expanding.

I should like to state in this connection that our economic relations with the United States of America are acquiring an increasingly solid, that is a more lasting and realistic character of economic cooperation since it has been determined by agreement between our Governments that assistance in armament and in the most important food items, wheat, fats and others should be terminated. We have turned to regular credit relations and we have undertaken measures to expand normal trade by the introduction of new forms of economic cooperation.

In relations with our western and southern neighbours, Austria, Italy and Greece as well as with Turkey, favourable development has been noted. Several agreements of mutual interests have been concluded and some outstanding bilateral questions have been settled. Mutual visits of leading statesmen have also contributed to a favourable development of relations. I should like to note with pleasure that, to a greater or lesser degree, considerable results have been achieved with the above-mentioned three neighbouring countries on small frontier traffic of persons and goods. With these countries specially with Italy, economic exchanges are gaining ever broader scope which is in the first place due to good and improving bilateral relations.

With other western countries, such as for instance Great Britain, France, the Scandinavian countries and Benelux, Switzerland and Western Germany, our economic and cultural relations are developing normally and showing tendencies of further expansion. If we exclude Western Germany, with which our diplomatic relations have been broken through no fault of ours, and France to a certain extent, our relations with which could be better, we can be satisfied with the existing relations between our country and the western countries. Bearing in mind that the predominant part of our foreign trade is with the European countries, our Government has endeavoured to establish contacts and find practical forms of multilateral cooperation with countries, members of western European economic organizations, on the basis of respect of our social and economic system. The results of our endeavours is our status of observer in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. We expect that this cooperation will be expanded after its present reorganization. We have also undertaken steps to establish contacts with the European Economic Community and the European Association of Free Trade.

The best proof of the correctness of such a policy — the policy of peaceful and active coexistence, the policy of all-round cooperation on a basis of equality — is our very practice in relations with many countries with different social systems. With Greece, for instance, we have had most friendly relations for years, regardless of the fact that country has a capitalist social order. But, such relations are possible only if the right of every people to organize its life as suits it best is strictly respected. As an example can also serve our relations with India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Iran and other countries in Asia as well as our relations with the United Arab Republic, Ethiopia, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia and other countries of Africa which have recently attained their independence. All these countries have various social systems different from ours and still our relations with them offer an example of peaceful friendly cooperation, an example of tolerance and mutual understanding.

The same holds for our relations with the countries of Latin America. Yugoslavia maintains normal diplomatic relations with 13 countries of that area and has lately marked a gradual and steady development of bilateral cooperation with those countries in different fields. The understanding shown by Yugoslavia for the political and economic problems of that vast area and the reputation she enjoys as an independent country, have made it possible to establish closer contacts with those countries, specially with Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela and Brazil. Economic and cultural relations with the countries of that area are steadily strengthening and expanding, although the level which would correspond to the mutual desires and possibilities has not yet been attained. Trade has lately shown a certain increase, specially with Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Cuba. It can be expected that within the framework of the growth of our overall foreign trade in the period to come, a further increase and a speedier development of foreign trade and economic cooperation with the countries of that area will also follow.

In accordance with our conception of the needs and usefulness of personal contacts and direct exchange of opinions, we continued this practice in the period under review. This year Presidents Sukarno, Nasser and Abud and King Mohammad Zahir visited our country. Our country was also visited by the Indonesian Premier Djuanda, the Greek Premier Karamanlis and several Governmental, Parliamentary, economic and cultural delegations and delegations of social organizations from all continents. Likewise many Yugoslav delegations, Governmental, Parliamentary, economic cultural and others visited about 50 foreign countries and thereby contributed to the development of cooperation and better mutual understanding.

At the close of 1958 and at the beginning of 1959, with members of our delegation, I visited several friendly countries in Asia and Africa: Indonesia, Burma, India, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Sudan, the United Arab Republic and, finally, Greece. The visits to these friendly countries were not of a formal nature alone. They were not made only to reciprocate the visits paid to our country. Their purpose was, in the first place, to further mutual acquaintance and to strengthen our relations. This and other mutual visits of the highest State leaders have already yielded good and lasting results in our cooperation with other countries, not only with regard to bilateral relations but also with regard to the struggle for the maintenance of peace and the reduction of tension in the world.

I have mentioned these visits and their mutual usefulness because, in the first half of next year, within the possibilities, my visits to some countries in Africa are forthcoming. I think you all agree that such visits are of great importance for our country, for, in this manner, she acquires new friends and opens

the possibility for lasting cooperation with those friendly countries, specially in the economic, political and cultural fields.

Talking of Africa, we should point to the fact that in the recent past there were only two free countries on that vast continent. There are 27 now, 17 of which attained their independence this year. This indicated the profound changes present-day Africa is undergoing. The appearance of these newly independent States on the international scene shows that most of them tend to adopt the policy of peace and international cooperation, the policy of non-alignment with existing groups. We should however, not lose sight of the fact that one third of Africa has not yet been liberated and that a bitter struggle for freedom and independence is in store for them. And in that very area considerable natural resources are to be found, resources which in the hands of these peoples would lead to their progress in all fields. For, in this area, including Congo, the exploitation of minerals alone forms an income of over 2.2 billion dollars a year.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES OF ASIA AND AFRICA

I should like now, Comrades, to deal briefly with our participation in the exchange of goods, credits and technical assistance extended to some countries of Asia and Africa as well as with the development of our economic relations with them.

From 1956 until the beginning of this year trade with the countries of Asia has been nearly doubled and that with the countries of Africa nearly trebled. Within this process, the total exchange of goods with India is nearly four times larger than before, that with the United Arab Republic more than three times, with Ethiopia nearly six times, with Pakistan about two times, with Iraq approximately five times, with Sudan more than two times, with Tunisia more than eleven times, with Indonesia — with which trade was not large — about seventy times larger, etc. We have broadened our economic relations with many other countries and we also endeavour to create the necessary conditions for the development of trade with many countries which have recently attained independence. In the course of this year, according to still incomplete data and estimates based on the contracts made, a further increase of trade with the countries of that area is expected. Owing to such a movement in trade, the participation of the countries of Asia and Africa in our exports has increased from 8.2 percent in 1956 to 15 percent this year, while the participation of these countries in our total imports rose from 6.6 percent to 12.2 percent in the same period.

In view of the results attained and the possibilities assessed, trade with the countries of Asia and Africa is expected to grow even more rapidly in the five-year period to come parallel with the growth in trade with other areas in the world which is made possible by the increased economic potential of our country. If we take the average annual rate of growth of our total exports of 13.8 percent and of total imports at the rate of 9.7 percent, exports to the countries of Asia and Africa are expected to grow at the average annual rate of 18.5 percent and imports at the rate of 13.6 percent in the next five-year period. For the sake of securing better conditions for the increase of trade, our country has extended credits, as far as possibilities allowed, to enable these countries to buy commodities, specially equipment and other industrial products. This policy will have to be followed in the future as well.

Economic relations with these countries develop on the basis of trade agreements regulating regular exchanges, on the basis of agreements on payment, special arrangements for the conclusion of various contracts and the construction of various objects, long-term investment arrangements, agreements on various geological surveys, studies and designs, on technical assistance and industrial cooperation, joint appearance on third markets, exchange of experts and advanced training of professional cadres.

Through their participation in the construction of various projects our experts have gained a very high reputation for Yugoslavia in those countries in that respect as well which has led to the expansion of trade and the development of lasting economic relations. I should like to quote the examples of some projects of greater importance in the construction of which our industry and experts were successfully engaged. They are: the ports of Latakia and Tartus in the Syrian Province of the United Arab Republic, the port of Assab in Ethiopia, hydro-electric power stations in Pakistan, Ethiopia and the Syrian Province of U. A. R., leather, cardboard and light steel structure factories in Sudan, a cement factory in Ethiopia, land improvement work in India, etc.

In addition to experts engaged in accordance with contracted investment and other special arrangements, Yugoslavia offers these countries assistance in cadres as well as assistance in other forms. In virtue of direct contracts a large number of Yugoslav experts of various kinds, specially doctors and medical personnel, educators, engineers, economists and others, have been working in the countries of Asia and Africa. Moreover, in the period 1952–1960 through the United Nations Organization 24 Yugoslav experts were included in the programme of assistance to be given to various countries. Our country has also been receiving a large number of experts from those countries to be trained in our economic organizations, research and other institutions.

In this way our policy of international economic cooperation and assistance has been most widely confirmed by our practice.

CULTURAL COOPERATION

Alongside the development of economic and other cooperation with all the countries of the world we have endeavoured to promote as much as possible cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and other countries. So far we have concluded 18 agreements on cultural cooperation with countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. In other forms as well cooperation with another 30 countries is being implemented in this field. Stronger links and cooperation in the field of education are likewise to be noted. Over 300 students from Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America are studying and specializing in our country on Yugoslav scholarships, and about 100 students are expected soon. Besides there are about 300 foreign students studying in Yugoslavia at their own expense or on scholarships of their respective countries. Many of our university professors are engaged by foreign universities. By a large number of different art exhibitions and performances, exchanges of visits of artists and artistic companies, this form of cultural cooperation has been considerably extended.

The entire activity of Yugoslavia in the international field over the past period, both in the United Nations and in the development of bilateral relations, has firmly established the policy of active peaceful coexistence and contributed to a further consolidation of the international position and role of our country. Yugoslavia's principled and constructive attitudes on all outstanding international

questions, specially her endeavours, together with other uncommitted countries, for the application of the methods of negotiations in the settlement of disputed questions, come from our deep conviction that this represents the only possibility of finding a way out of the present dangerous international situation, to consolidate a lasting peace and to contribute to the further progress of mankind. Yugoslavia's foreign activities will therefore be guided that direction in the future as well.

ON THE ATTACK ON YUGOSLAVIA AND HER LEADERS IN THE MOSCOW DECLARATION

In conclusion I would like, with your permission, to refer to one question which was in the past and is still at present, deeply linked with the difficulties inflicted upon our country both in the building of socialism and the pursuance of her peaceful foreign policy.

Early this month, as you know, at the meeting of the representatives of the Communist Parties in Moscow a document was drawn up, or rather, a joint declaration on various problems was issued, at the end of which Yugoslavia and her leaders were again most grossly attacked. What are we accused of in that declaration? The point of departure this time again is that we are revisionists. But now again, after twelve years of repeating this allegation, they were not able to produce any convincing proofs showing what this alleged revisionism consists in. They were unable to give any theoretical explanation of their accusations. These accusations were of the nature of interference in our internal affairs and distortion of the reality of our development and of our foreign policy. We are therefore not greatly concerned over it. But, when the same declaration states that the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia endangers the achievements of our People's Liberation War, then it is no longer only a gross inaccuracy but a deliberate attempt to destroy the unity existing between the communists and the other citizens of our country. Our peoples, however, know very well who has up to the present threatened the achievements of their liberation struggle, just as they know very well that our communists in the first place made the greatest efforts in that struggle and after it in the building of what we have today. Our citizens therefore have deep confidence in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and in their broad organization, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia which cannot be separated from each other today.

But our peoples know just as well that as early as in 1948 such very people as the initiators and authors of this Moscow declaration attempted to endanger the achievements of our People's Revolution. Such attempts will naturally meet with failure in the future just as they did in the past, for both our communists and the members of the Socialist Alliance and our citizens in general, form a huge united collective which knows what it wants and which is aware of the fact that such unity guarantees a complete victory in the attainment of a great future socialism.

The same gross inaccuracy in that declaration is represented by the allegation that under the guise of the policy of non-alignment the Government of Yugoslavia is deploying an activity that is harmful to the unity of all peace-loving forces in the world. Who could believe such slanders at present when the whole world knows about the immense efforts made by Yugoslavia in that very field where she often subordinates her own interests to the general interests. This is specially evident in our attitudes towards the struggle of colonial peoples for independence, the liquidation of colonialism in all its aspects, and in the entire Yugoslav foreign policy which firmly pursues the principles of active and peaceful coexistence, equality and all-round cooperation among peoples and, at the same time, strives for the achievements of total disarmament. These are facts and a reality nobody can deny. Therefore, this time again, the ill-intentioned inaccuracies will harm only their own authors.

The Moscow declaration also alleged that the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proclaimed it obsolete, that they have opposed the Moscow declaration of 1957 with their anti-Leninist and revisionist programme, that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has opposed the entire international workers' movement, isolated their country from the socialist camp and made their country dependent on so-called American aid. A whole series of most gross inaccuracies!

They say that we have proclaimed Marxism-Leninism obsolete and rejected it. On the contrary, we are consistently following it and, in keeping with our specific conditions, we have creatively applied the great ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin in the building up of socialism. Where have they read that we have rejected Marxism-Leninism and why don't they quote their sources? Because they cannot quote them. Their allegation is but a gross inaccuracy. It is just as inaccurate as their other allegation that we have isolated our country from the socialist camp and made it dependent on American aid, thereby endangering — according to them — the achievements of our People's Revolution. The authors of these inaccuracies should remember that just such authors of inaccuracies in 1948 isolated us from other socialist countries with the intention of preventing our socialist development and of causing a split in the ranks of the communists and the people of our country.

It is further alleged that we have, as they say, opposed the Moscow declaration of 1957 with our "revisionist" programme and that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has opposed the entire international workers' movement. We have, however, without any opposition to the international workers' movement, drawn up that programme relying on experience in our own practice in the building of socialism and on our experience in international developments. We have the right to put forward our opinions on them although they do not always coincide with the views of those accusing us. It is true that we did not agree with the Moscow declaration of 1957 and that we have only signed the appeal for peace. Since this declaration contained unjust accusations against Yugoslavia, we did not want to sign it. We are accused of isolating ourselves from the socialist countries. Who cancelled the economic agreements we had with socialist countries? We did not do it! And who thus inflicted immense damages when, under the hardest conditions, we had to look for a substitute for these agreements on the other side, in the West? All this is well-known today and the authors of the present declaration on our country should remember it. Has then anybody the right to reproach us for turning for cooperation and assistance where we could obtain it without any conditions, without endangering the achievements of our revolution and the building of socialism? Nobody has the right to reproach us.

Isn't all this in deep contradiction with socialist morals and unworthy of people who pretend to be the champions of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin and to be applying them? The history of the relations of these people towards socialist Yugoslavia best demonstrates to what absurdity such incorrect and unjustified attitudes can lead. Instead of assistance in the past years precisely from that side the greatest difficulties were inflicted upon our peoples in their efforts to build a better future. Does that not remind one of the friend our national

proverb so cautiously describes? We know that this time the chief initiators were the Chinese delegates, the representatives of a party whose leaders have proclaimed all sorts of things for Marxism and Leninism. But, do socialist morals permit that by means of false accusations a rotten compromise is made at the expense of a small socialist country?

Comrades, I had to put this case before the House because it is not only a matter of ideological struggle as some would like to present it. It is a matter which deeply interferes with our internal development our foreign policy, our interstate relations in general and specially our relations with peace-loving peoples in the world with whom we are linked by common interests and a common struggle. We shall, however, endeavour to build up normal relations, as good as possible, with socialist countries although this will not depend on us alone but on them in the first place. It should be clear to everybody that in the years to come nobody will be able to divert us from our socialist road just as in those much more difficult conditions nobody had been able to do so in the years that have passed. The inaccuracies and slanders against us, which will undoubtedly recur in the future as well, will not harm us just as they did not before, but they will harm those who have fabricated them and the international workers' movement in general. We shall never betray either the class struggle of the proletariat or the struggle of the subjected peoples for freedom and independence. Neither shall we permit anybody to spread unjustified slander against us. Every attempt of that kind will get an answer from us. In our policy, the policy of peace, we shall in the future, as I have stressed, consistently and firmly adhere to the principles we have followed so far.

Comrades, in our most recent history our peoples have weathered many storms and tempests, various difficulties and obstacles. Let us try in the future, regardless of the difficulties we may meet, bravely advance towards our great goal — the realization of a great future for the present and the coming generations.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON TALKS BETWEEN PRESIDENT NASSER AND EDVARD KARDELJ

After the talks between President Nasser of the United Arab Republic and Vice-President of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council Edvard Kardelj, the following joint communiqué has been released in Cairo:

"At the invitation of the President of the United Arab Republic, Mr Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council of the F. P. R. of Yugoslavia, Edvard Kardelj, was on a visit in the United Arab Republic from December 10 to 19, 1960. His party included Kiro Gligorov, the Secretary for General Economic matters of the Federal Executive Council, Dr. Anton Vratuša, State Under-Secretary in the Federal Executive Council, Nikola Miličević, the Head of Department in the State Foreign Secretariat, and Rato Dugonjić, the Ambassador of the F. P. R. Y. in Cairo.

During his visit Vice-President Kardelj had talks with President Nasser, Vice-President el-Boghday, Minister for Internal Affairs Zakaria Muhyi al-Din, Minister for Agriculture and Agrarian Reform Sayed Marei, Minister for Industry Aziz Sidqi, and Minister for Presidential Affairs Ali Sabri. Talks were also held with the Minister for Public Works of the Egyptian Region, Musa Arafat, and the Minister for Cultural Affairs of the Egyptian Region, Tharwat Okasha.

Vice-President Kardelj visited the site of the Aswan High Dam and a number of agricultural and industrial projects, cultural institutions and historic sights, Alexandria, Port Said and other major towns of the Egyptian Region.

During the talks which passed in an atmosphere of cordial friendship and sincere mutual understanding, which had also hitherto characterized relations between the two countries an exchange of views took place concerning the general international situation and some questions in the field of co-operation between the F. P. R. of Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic.

On that occasion the two Governments' agreement on a wide range of questions from contemporary international relations was again confirmed. The two countries would continue to co-operate in the efforts to eliminate the causes and factors hindering the independence of peoples and their co-operation on the basis of equality, and constituting at the same time one of the main obstacles to the efforts at consolidating peace in the world.

It was specially noted with satisfaction that major results had been recorded in co-operation between the two countries and the wish of both Governments had been confirmed for their co-operation to be even more expanded and deepened to their mutual benefit, as well as to that of peace in the world. The usefulness of exchanges of experience in the field of efforts being made by the peoples of the United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia for their speedier economic and social development had also been again noted in the talks."

Vojvodina — the Granary of Yugoslavia and its Industries

THE AUTONOMOUS Province of Vojvodina, which includes the regions of Bačka, Banat and Eastern Srem (21,480 square kilometres and about 1,800,000 inhabitants) forms a part of the People's Republic of Serbia. It is the area of Yugoslavia containing the greatest number of different nationalities: besides Serbs and Croats, who form the majority of population, there are many national minorities: Hungarians, Slovaks, Rumanians, Germans, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Czechs etc. The administrative and cultural centre is Novi Sad with 100,000 inhabitants.

Vojvodina is a predominantly an agricultural region: it is the granary of Yugoslavia, an inexhaustible source of wheat and maize, industrial plants, vegetables, herbs, vines and fruits, with highly developed livestock-raising, bee-keeping and silk-worm-breeding. Although its economy is based on agriculture and livestock-raising, its industry has developed at a growing rate in recent years.

This industry is largely based on the processing of agricultural raw materials in food-processing plants, in flour and sugar mills, in vegetable, legume and fruit-preserving factories, in distilleries etc. There are also numerous plants for the manufacture of textiles, leather goods and footwear,

The metal manufacturing industry holds an important place in Vojvodina. It produces tractors, agricultural machines and implements, machine tools, steam boilers, cables, river ships, electro-motors, railway material etc. In addition to, this, rich sources of naphtha and gas have been discovered, most of which are in the region of Banat.

One of the most important projects under construction in Vojvodina is the Danube—Tisa—Danube navigation and amelioration canal, which will stretch from the Danube at Bezdán to the Tisa at Bečej, and then across the Tisa and the region of Banat to the town of Bačka Palanka on the Danube — a length of 260 kilometres.

The "Crvena Zvezda" Umbrella and Leather Gloves Factory of

S O M B O R

has been successfully manufacturing for three decades now:

all kinds of leather gloves;

standard and luxury umbrellas made of domestic raw materials and Italian silk.

"Crvena Zvezda" exports all its products to a number of countries in Europe and in America.

"Crvena Zvezda" has been awarded several medals at the national fairs for the quality, workmanship and durability of its products.

"Crvena Zvezda" is a trade mark denoting reliability and moderate prices.

The "Bane Sekulić"

METAL FITTINGS FACTORY

SOMBOR

Produces:

building joinery fittings;
furniture fittings;
ship fittings.

The manufacture of

building joinery fittings
of plastic material

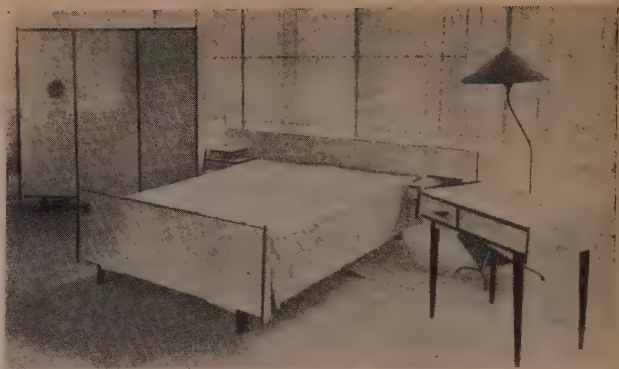
will be started soon.

The fittings of

THE "BANE SEKULIĆ"

brand are exported to Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Morocco Ethiopia and other countries.

The growing demand for these products proves their reliable quality.



THE TIMBER PROCESSING COMBINE

SREMSKA MITROVICA

The Combine consists of five plants:

MITROŠPER (MITROPLYWOOD):

In this plant (established in 1880) beech plywood from 3 to 10 mm's thick is produced. Thanks to the excellent raw material and high-grade workmanship the plywood is exported to 22 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, and during the last two years exports have been doubled.

MITROFURNIR (MITROVENEER):

This plant manufactures veneers which owing to the high quality of Slavonian oak-wood (finely grained, and gold-colored) and the modern machinery from the U. S. A. have gained a world reputation. In the last two years exports of veneer have more than doubled.

VARDAR:

This plant is a timber saw-mill. The products are Slavonian oak, ash and other kinds of excellent wood for the manufacture of veneer, plywood, parquet etc.

MITROPARKET (MITROPARQUET):

This plant specializes in the manufacture of classic (solid) parquets and — laminated parquets.

1 NOVEMBAR:

This plant produces veneered furniture for bedrooms, dining-rooms, sitting-rooms etc.

THE TIMBER PROCESSING COMBINE OF SREMSKA MITROVICA constantly widens and develops its production to meet the growing demand for its articles and to further advance its enviable reputation.

THE "POBEDA"



FACTORY OF AGRICULTURAL MACHINES NOVI SAD — PETROVARADIN

Pobeda's *first* period of production consisted mainly of hand-operated or team-hauled agricultural machines; its *second* of team and tractor hauled machines; while in the *latest* period „POBEDA” has taken up the manufacture of high-capacity agricultural machinery, including:

snowmowers, harvesters and pickers;
fertilizer spreaders (for manure and fertilizers);
machines for the preparation of cattle feed;
maize shuckers;
grain dryers;

pneumatic grain transporters;
„POBEDA” also produces:
machines and equipment for milling plants;
bakery machines and equipment;
complete milling and bakery installations.

Thanks to their excellent quality THE "POBEDA" products are in great demand and highly appreciated on both the domestic and foreign markets. "POBEDA" agricultural machines are exported to Greece, Turkey, Hungary, Spain and other countries of Europe, the Near East and South America.



Machines made by "POBEDA"

THE "SAVA KOVAČEVIĆ" SILK MILL

V R B A S

PRODUCES:

silken cloths made of rayon yarn;
brocade for quilts;
silk for lining (silk taffeta);
sateen
satin.

●
"Sava Kovačević" uses
domestic and imported raw
materials (Italian and German)
in its products.

●
"Sava Kovačević"
manufactures articles of first
rate quality.

●
"Sava Kovačević"
has been awarded two silver
and two bronze medals at the
Zagreb and Leskovac Fairs.

THE "TEPIH"

*Carpet, Knitwear and
Curtain Factory of
SOMBOR*

PRODUCES:

Hand-knotted Persian carpets (10 — 90,000 knots on one square metre) in one colour or figured. The annual rate of production is 30 tons or 7,000 square metres. The carpets are exported to Switzerland, the U. S. A., Austria, West Germany, Italy and other countries.

All kinds of children's knitwear; cotton net fabrics (curtains).

New lines to follow soon are:

Carpets (bouclé and velvet) machine-made Persian carpets (250,000 square metres a year).

**Unique workmanship — excellent
quality — moderate prices.**

»POLJOSTROJ«

Sremska Mitrovica

PRODUCES:

all kinds of valves for
Diesel and gasoline
international - combusti-
on engines

POLJOSTROJ«

works in cooperation
with the following well-
known Yugoslav facto-
ries:

“ITM” — Belgrade

POBEDA” — Petrovaradin,
and

“21 M A J” R a k o v i c a

The products of “Poljostroj” are of
excellent quality and are tested by
the finest instruments before being
offered for sale.

“P O L J O S T R O J”
products satisfy every buyer.

THE DANUBE TOBACCO PRODUCING AND MANUFACTURING COMBINE

NOVI SAD

leaf tobacco of the Rose of Segedin (Segedin-
ska Ruža) type;
black tobaccos;
pipe tobacco;

A rich assortment of manufactured tobacco products:

“VOJVODINA” first grade cigarettes
“VARDAR” first and second grade cigarettes
“MORAVA” second grade cigarettes
“ZETA” third grade cigarettes
“DRAVA” fourth grade cigarettes

The Danube Tobacco Combine of Novi Sad

produces cigarettes of the best and world-
renowned tobaccos from Macedonia, South
Serbia and Herzegovina. The annual rate of
production is 21,000 tons of tobacco. The
products of the Danube Tobacco Combine
are exported today to more than ten countries.

If you like good cigarettes with a fine flavour and at
moderate prices, remember the
DANUBE TOBACCO COMBINE OF NOVI SAD.

THE SOMBOR TEXTILE FACTORY

Produces:

- decorative "bouclé" and "gobelin" fabrics for furniture upholstery
- all kinds of covers;
- all kinds of table-cloths;
- all kinds of curtains;
- various kinds of silks.

The Sombor Textile Factory

- exports its products to three continents.
- The Sombor Textile Factory steadily develops the scope and quality of its production and widens its ranges.
- The Sombor Textile Factory satisfies the taste of modern buyers.

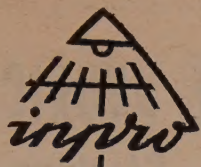
THE SHIPYARD OF NOVI SAD

plans, repairs and builds all kinds of river cargo ships as well as special units. The shipyard specializes in work on steam engines and dredgers.

The Shipyard of Novi Sad builds:

- dredgers of 20 m³/h, 100 m³/h, 400 m³/h capacity;
- tug boats of 150 h. p., 200 h. p., 330 h. p. 640 h. p..
- barges of 360 tons, 650 tons, 710 tons, and 1000 tons displacement;
- trawler-barges of 500 tons and 1000 tons displacement;
- trawlers of 300 h. p., 500 h. p. and 1000 h. p.;
- house-boats;
- hopper-barges;
- pontoons;
- tourist excursion ships;

of reliable quality and with prompt delivery.



The

"Inpro"

ENTERPRISE FOR THE
MANUFACTURE OF ALUMINIUM
PRODUCTS

S O M B O R

PRODUCES:

locks and other devices used
in the building trade
electric heaters
lamps
television aerials



SOLID WORKMANSHIP AND
MODERATE PRICES CHARAC-
TERISE "INPRO" PRODUCTS.

THE "TESLA"

ELECTROMACHINE ENTERPRISE

S O M B O R

RADOMIRA PUTNIKA 25

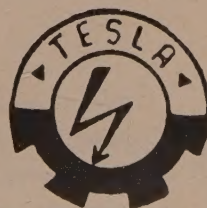
The workshop for electro-in-
stallation and plumber works,
locksmith and electro-mec-
hanical services, with highly-
qualified experts and excel-
lent equipment, has begun
production of the following
special lines:

- sheet-armoured standard
transformer-stations; protec-
ted by patent registered un-
der R — 422/56; ● hydro-
phores of up to 2000 litres
capacity; ● all types of iron
transmission line towers; ●
micro motors for electric
household apparatus.

At the 1960 Handicraft Trades Fair
in Belgrade

T H E " T E S L A "

transformer station was awarded a
silver medal.



„Poljoprivrednik“

FACTORY OF AGRICULTURAL
MACHINES

S O M B O R

*In the last four years the „Poljoprivrednik“
Factory of Agricultural Machines of Sombor
has increased its output by 146 per cent.*

THE FACTORY PRODUCES:

one-row maize pickers length 750 cms breadth, 130 cms, height 390 cms, working speed 5.5 kms, daily performance 2 50 3 ha., connection to the „Fergusson“ FH — 35 tractor, weight 650 kgs.

corn shellers with motor drive of the MK — 360 type „TAGLIAVINI — NEGRI“ licence, of extra large capacity, with automatic feeding by means of an elevator and automatic shelling of unhusked maize cobs, driving power 25 — 30 h.p., performance per hour 4 — 5 tons with husks, 8 — 9 tons without husks);

hammer mills of the MČ — 20 brand to crush granulated and bulky cattle feed, output 1200 kgs per hour, driving power 18 — 20 h.p.);

combiners of the KJ — 250 brand for the preparation of deep ploughing before sowing range and breadth 250 cms; depth 25 cms; 15 hoes; hauling power 54 h.p.).

„Poljoprivrednik“ products are exported to three continents.



The best recommendation for their quality and durability is the growing demand for agricultural machines and implements with the „Poljoprivrednik“ trade-mark.

THE »VUKICA MITROVIĆ« Stocking — Factory

A P A T I N

The „Vukica Mitrović“ Stocking Factory at Apatin has established a solid tradition of five decades in the manufacture of all kinds of ladies, gentlemen's and children's stockings made of cotton, wool and crepe.

A SILVER AND A BRONZE MEDAL AWARDED AT THE LESKOVAC FAIR ARE THE BEST PROOF OF THE QUALITY OF THE FACTORY'S PRODUCTS

From the Press Conferences

On December 16 and 23, Drago Kunc, spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, held press conferences for Yugoslav and foreign journalists and answered a number of questions on current world problems.

DECEMBER 16

Afro-Asian Resolution on Algeria. — “The adoption of the Afro-Asian Resolution on Algeria in the Political Committee of the General Assembly by a two-third majority, is an important event. The Resolution recognizes the right of the Algerian people to freedom and independence. It is particularly significant that the Resolution calls for adequate and effective guarantees to ensure the implementation of self-determination on the basis of respect for the unity and integrity of Algeria and lays stress on the responsibility of the UN in contributing towards the successful and just implementation of this decision. The decision that the referendum in Algeria be organized, controlled and supervised by the UNO is equally important. We hope that the General Assembly will approve this solution, since this would mean an important step towards the establishment of peace in Algeria and the ensuring of the Algerian people's right to self-determination. One must remember that France, which unfortunately did not take part in the debate, will respect the will of the majority in the UNO and that she too will take measures for carrying out the provisions of the Resolution.”

Visit of Good-Will Mission to Morocco. — “The purpose of the visit of a Moroccan mission of friendship and good will to Yugoslavia which arrived in this country after touring several other European countries, was to familiarize the Yugoslav Government with the problem of Mauritania and d

other problems of common interest. The head of the mission brought a personal message from King Mohamed V to President Tito."

Events in Ethiopia. — "Since we have not yet received any reliable information, we do not wish to comment on these events. As far as the position of our citizens in Ethiopia is concerned, we have been informed that everything is in good order."

Developments in Laos. — "We have already set out our view towards these problems at a previous press conference. We hold that full support should be given to all efforts towards internal pacification and the stabilization of the situation in Laos in line with the provisions of the Geneva agreements. We have also drawn attention to the harm done by foreign interference which may lead to a deterioration of the situation in Laos, which would have far-reaching repercussions in that part of the world. Recent events have shown that our anxiety was justified. The present situation in Laos demands that all countries working for the preservation of world peace should do their utmost to restore peace in that country and to ensure respect for the provision of the Geneva agreements, while they should also energetically condemn any foreign interference, for otherwise Laos might easily become the centre of a large-scale armed conflict. We hold that all countries, and especially the great powers, should adhere to the letter and spirit of the Geneva agreements, irrespective of whether or not they are signatories of these agreements."

Transfer of Congolese Governments. — "The lawfulness of the Central Congolese Government elected by the lawful Parliament and now headed, in the absence of the Prime Minister, by the Deputy Premier, Antoine Gizenga, has not ended with the arrest of Patrice Lumumba. It is normal that the Congolese Government should have transferred its headquarters to where conditions make work possible."

DECEMBER 23

Situation in the Congo. — "The resolution of eight countries submitted to the United Nations by Yugoslavia and another seven uncommitted countries, has, unfortunately, not been accepted. The resolution clearly defined the paths for the implementation of earlier UN decisions on the Congo and the overcoming of the crisis which seriously threatens not only the independence and sovereignty of that country, but also peace and security in Africa and the world in general. The voting in the General Assembly has, however, shown that the majority of the UN member-countries disapprove of the manner in which the bodies and Command of the United Nations in the Congo are carrying out the resolution of the Security Council adopted at the emergency session of the UN General Assembly. In the meantime, colonialist intervention in the Congo is continuing, and the crisis in that country can only be resolved if the earlier decisions adopted by UN bodies, are put into effect, as proposed by the resolution of eight countries. Any other way, and especially the continuation of the present policy, will only lead to fresh difficulties and new, even greater dangers. As for the question when Yugoslav technical personnel are to leave the Congo, this may take place at any moment. Immediate withdrawal is justified by the fact that the personnel involved are not a military unit, as is the case with other countries which have contributed to the United Nations Force in the Congo, but individuals and small groups of Yugoslav experts working in different parts of the Congo. The reasons which led the Yugoslav Government to act in this manner were set out in a memorandum of the Yugoslav Government recently submitted to the General Assembly."

Declaration of U. A. R., Ghana and Guinea. — "A joint declaration of the presidents of the U. A. R., Ghana and Guinea sent to the UNO and calling for a normalization of the situation in the Congo, contains a number of views identical with those of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Government welcomes this declaration as well as any similar effort towards a constructive settlement of the crisis in the Congo."

Interception of Yugoslav Ships. — "The illegal acts recently committed by French war ships against the Yugoslav merchantships, "Srbija", "Dubrava" and "Martin Krpan" in particular, as well as those against the merchant ships of a number of other countries, while sailing in the open sea, have assumed such proportions as to have made this an international

issue. It would be normal to expect the intervention of an international body in order to ensure respect for the generally accepted principles of freedom of navigation in the high seas. The State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has lodged a sharp protest with the French Embassy in Belgrade and has requested the return of the confiscated goods. The Yugoslav Government has reserved the right to claim compensation for the damage suffered by Yugoslav enterprises through these illegal acts of the French Navy."

Attacks by Valter Ulbricht. — "Asked to comment on the attacks made against Yugoslavia by Herr Valter Ulbricht, First Party Secretary and President of the State Council of the Democratic Republic of Germany, in his speech at a plenary session of the Central Committee of the United Socialist Party of Germany, the spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs said: "Our opinion of the anti-Yugoslav attacks contained in the Declaration of 81 communist parties and paraphrased by Herr Ulbricht, was set out at a previous press conference."

Meetings and Talks

Visit of Moroccan Goodwill Mission. — A Moroccan goodwill mission headed by Ahmed Balarege, former Moroccan Prime Minister, arrived in Belgrade on December 15 for a two-day visit to Yugoslavia. The members of the Moroccan mission had talks with Yugoslav representatives on questions of common interest the two countries and a number of current world problems. The members of the mission were also received by President Tito.

Cooperation with Guinea. — A group of 13 Yugoslav teachers left on December 14 for Konakri where they will join another 25 Yugoslav teachers who have signed contracts to give lectures in Guinean secondary schools.

Negotiations and Agreements

Nikola Minčev in Washington. — Nikola Minčev, State Secretary for Financial Affairs, and Janko Smole, Governor of the National Bank, paid a three-day official visit to Washington in the second half of December. They attended a meeting of the International Monetary Fund and settled a number of current, hitherto unsolved questions.

Meeting of Mixed Yugoslav-Hungarian Commission. — A Yugoslav delegation headed by Ivica Gretić, Chairman of the Economic Committee of the Federal Council of the Federal People's Assembly, returned to Belgrade on December 15 after taking part in a meeting of the mixed Yugoslav-Hungarian Commission for the Implementation of the Financial Agreement signed in 1956. It was decided to settle separate Yugoslav financial claims from Hungary by June next year.

Protocol with Turkey. — A protocol on Yugoslav-Turkish trade exchanges for 1961 was signed in Belgrade on December 23. The negotiations also covered some other questions relating to economic relations between the two countries.

Opening of Yugoslav Trade Missions in India. — Under an agreement signed between Yugoslavia and India in New Delhi in mid-December, several Yugoslav trade missions are shortly to be opened in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

Validity of Yugoslav-Danish Trade Agreement Extended. — Through a recent exchange of notes, the validity of the Yugoslav-Danish Trade Agreement has been extended for another year, that is, until October 31, 1961. In 1960, the volume of trade between the two countries considerably exceeded that of the previous year.

Meeting of Yugoslav and Italian Economists. — In the second half of December, a Yugoslav economic delegation visited Bari where they discussed with Italian representatives the possibilities for expanding trade and economic cooperation. A number of arrangements were concluded providing for an increase in exports, and imports respectively, and an expansion of tourist cooperation between the two countries.

Cultural Cooperation between Yugoslavia and SSSR. — Yugoslav-Soviet negotiations on cultural and scientific cooperation took place in Belgrade from December 19 to 23. A plan for cultural and scientific cooperation in 1961 was signed on behalf of the Yugoslav Government by Drago Vučinić, Secretary of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and for the USSR by Petar Deduškin, Chargé d'Affaires of the Soviet Embassy in Belgrade.

Agreement with Burma. — At the invitation of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries of the Federal Executive Council, a Burmese cultural delegation headed by U Tam Sin, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry for Education and Culture, visited Belgrade with the aim of investigating the possibilities for more intensive cultural cooperation between the two countries. An agreement on cultural cooperation for 1961 was signed.

Political Diary

December 15. — A meeting of the Federal Commission for Nuclear Energy was held with Aleksandar Ranković, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council and President of the Federal Commission for Nuclear Energy, in the chair. The plan for 1961 was discussed.

December 16 — A joint session of the Budgetary Committees of both councils of the Federal People's Assembly was held. General Ivan Gošnjak spoke about the draft budget for 1961, and Mijalko Todorović, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council, set out the basic characteristics of the draft plan of economic development for 1961.

December 17 — At a session of the Economic Committee of the Federal People's Assembly, Krste Crvenkovski, member of the Federal Executive Council, submitted a report on the draft Law on School Financing.

December 18 — The Federal Executive Council appointed Krste Crvenkovski, member of the Federal Executive Council and Secretary for Education and Culture, as President of the Commission for Cultural, Relations with Foreign Countries.

December 19 — Edvard Kardelj, Vice President of the Federal Executive Council, returned to Belgrade from an eight-day state visit to the U. A. R. with the other members of a Yugoslav delegation.

December 20 — The Fifth Congress of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia began work in Zagreb. The Congress was greeted, on behalf of the Federal Board of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance, by Petar Stambolić. A report on current questions of socialist development in Croatia was submitted by Vladimir Bakarić. A new Republican committee and a new Executive Committee were elected.

December 22 — Yugoslav Army Day, December 22 nd, was solemnly celebrated throughout the country.

December 24 — The Central Committees of the War Veterans' Federation and the War Disabled Veterans' Federation of Yugoslavia met in a joint plenary session presided over by Aleksandar Ranković. The meeting discussed the professional training of veterans and war disabled veterans within the system of adult professional training and other current questions of interest to the two organizations.

December 28 — The Federal People's Assembly ended its three-day work. The deputies heard President Tito's report on the draft Five Year Plan of Economic Development of Yugoslavia for the period 1961—1965, the draft Social Plan and Budget for 1961, the Draft Basic Law on School Financing, the Law on Changes and Amendments of the Law on Civil Servants, the Law on the Population Census in 1961 and draft decision on the allocation of funds from federal economic reserves. The Federal People's Assembly adopted all these draft laws.

Diplomatic Diary

December 16 — By a decree of President Tito, Zvonko Perišić, Yugoslav Ambassador in Ghana, was appointed first Yugoslav ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in the Republic of Togo.

December 19 — President Tito confirmed the appointment of the new Cambodian Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia, Prince Norodom Norindet.

December 21 — President Tito received Voja Daković, Yugoslav Chargé d'Affaires in the Congo, who was recently recalled.

Our New Contributors

LEOPOLD SENGOR: *President of the Republic Senegal. He is well known African writer.*

MARC MARCEAU: *Founder and Director of the Review for the Balcan and East Mediterranean problems „La Revue d'Athènes“.*

Review of INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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